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02-01-1

Forging united front with postal workers

A Toronto rally of some 400-500, organized on January 27 to specifically protest the firing of five local stewards and the suspension of 23 members, was the opening round. The meeting took place only days after Postmaster-General Lamontagne declared as to how the government sees his department "could end postal woes"—by firing 500 inside workers. Among those expressing their solidarity from the platform were Sam Fox, president of the Metro Toronto Labor Council, Dave Patterson, president of the striking Sudbury Steelworkers Union, Dan Heap, NDP alderman, Ward 6, and various leaders and activists of CUPW, including National President Jean-Claude Parrot.

A leaflet circulated by the harassed Toronto local of CUPW projected and expressed the tone and objective of the meeting. "This rally is but a beginning step therefore and should be understood as a building action, not an end in itself..."

The postal workers are being made the scapegoats for the breakdown of the postal system itself. Auditor-General J.J. Macdonell chided department managers, in his most recent report, for purchasing \$153 million worth of sorting machinery that failed to achieve cost savings because of a lack of planning on the part of bureaucrats. Ronald Ritchie in his special postal report to the Conservative Party conceded that "human relations skills and training in them seem to be scarcer than they should be among supervisors and management in the postal service." Some 54,000 grievances were filed by CUPW members in the past two years—80% of those adjudicated were decided in favor of the union.

"(It's the) Postal Workers today," the leaflet challenges, but "who will be it be tomorrow? With the whole working class under attack, and the brunt of this attack being borne by Postal Workers and civil servants at this point, it will be necessary to form a common front of

workers in the public sector to fight all back-to-work legislation, the introduction of all bills restricting the bargaining rights of this sector, such as Bill C-22 which in effect legislates permanent wage controls in the public sector.

"The industrial unions, the whole of the labor movement, must support this kind of struggle and development to the fullest. Going public, taking our struggle to the streets and building unity **in action** will be increasingly necessary if we are to defeat the general attack being unleashed by the parties of big business upon us. ... We must renew the struggle, we must quicken the pace of our counter-attack, we must as individuals fight the apathy and criticism of some and renew our commitment to be involved, to fight back... Solidarity in action must be our watchword... An injury to one is an injury to all. United we stand, divided we fall."

February 14 has been declared MP day, when a concentrated campaign will be directed at parliament to de-



CUPW leader Jean-Claude Parrot faces trial and possibly jail in March over the "illegal" postal strike.

mand that the federal government drop the charges against CUPW leaders and stop the victimization of CUPW members.

RCMP subversive list circulates through top government circles

by Jean Laplante

The claim that the rot in Canadian society already laid bare by the revelations of RCMP violations of civil rights, is deeper and wider than even that which Watergate revealed about the CIA's and the FBI's violations of U.S. civil rights and U.S. society, is being borne out by continuing developments.

You are mistaken if you think that the revelations two years ago of Solicitor-General Jean Pierre Goyer's black-list of 21 members of a so-called "extra parliamentary opposition" within the public service, has brought, if not an end to such scandalous violations of civil rights at such high and "responsible" government levels, at least some caution or restraint.

• This month Claude Henault of the *Montreal Gazette* revealed the existence of *The Whizzer*, a newsletter

that circulates at ministerial and deputy ministerial levels in Ottawa. According to Henault the final authority over its contents is no less a person than Michael Pitfield, clerk of the Privy Council and secretary to the cabinet. Robin Bourne, Goyer's choice to lead the government's security service, with a direct line to RCMP top circles, is the working editor.

Robert Rae (NDP-MP, Broadview) queried Solicitor-General Blais in the commons on January 25 about *The Whizzer* which, it now appears, has been coming out on a regular weekly basis since 1976. Rae quoted a statement by Mr. Bourne that groups are mentioned in *The Whizzer* "if we felt their intentions were contrary to our interests," and that "most peace organizations, if they are labelled as such are manipulated by the Soviets." Blais affirmed everything that

Rae knew and brought to his attention, while he said that the views expressed in this bulletin circulated in the highest levels of government by the head of the government's security service, were Mr. Bourne's "personal views," he described the list as being "most helpful."

On the basis of information in *The Whizzer*, according to a CP January 25 dispatch, this month a federal cabinet minister refused to meet representatives of a group on the advice that it had been infiltrated by Communists. A brief from another organization received by a minister had attached to it a note: "this group is a foreign infiltrated group. It may, however, not even be aware that it has been taken over."

Thus we have what is nothing but a secret black list—a list drawn up in secret and used in secret against alleged subversives and subversive

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organizations. It is a list that operates on a running basis, with the named persons and organization having no knowledge of it, and thereby having no possibility of challenging it, of defending themselves against it even from any resulting deprivation of services from government institutions for which they pay

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Gov't subversive list

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and which are supposedly available for their utilization.

• The Saskatchewan Federation of Labor, which encompasses all unions affiliated to the CLC in Saskatchewan and endorses the NDP as its political arm, continues to be under surveillance by the RCMP. Obviously previous revelations of RCMP harassment and intervention into the internal affairs of such unions as CUPE, where its agents consciously sought to change the union's leadership, have not caused the RCMP to pull back and keep out of the internal affairs of the union movement. The federation will be fully documenting this at a coming hearing of the McDonald Commission.

• As for the Royal Commission on Confidentiality of Health Records under Mr. Justice Horace Krever—instead of opening up the files of the RCMP, presumably the property of public, to disclose the names of its informants and of its officers and the validity of the allegations that they used information from Health

Records in their campaign of dirty tricks against dissidents, its investigation revolved around articles that appeared in the *Globe and Mail* and the sources of the author of the article.

It is an established fact that the RCMP, contrary to law, since 1972 has had access to income tax information and unlimited access to Unemployment Insurance Office SIN records. It is also an established policy of the RCMP to use information at its disposal in such a way as to create dissension, to disrupt and demoralize radical groups.

If the Krever Commission wished to investigate this matter, rather than harass a newspaperman for his sources, it should have investigated evidence presented to the public hearing of the McDonald Commission on January 18, 1978 about a letter that was surreptitiously circulated at a Young Socialists convention in December 1972.

Found on the delegates' chairs the FBI, as part of a total \$40 million a new session, the letter spread the information that a leader of that organization had "sought psychiatric

aid." Such information would appear in Health Records, the Confidentiality of which is the Commission's concern. Who has been proven to have had access to such records and known to have an active policy of using such information to harass those they label "subversive?" Instead of the RCMP being investigated we have the press reporting that the Ontario Court of Appeal, when asked for a ruling, reserved judgment on whether the RCMP must disclose the names of its informers to the commission. The RCMP's counsel argued that police informer privilege is absolute.

The commission's lawyer, following Justice Krever's withdrawing of an order that the *Globe* reporter appear to give evidence, made a sweeping and totally unwarranted clearance of the RCMP in his statement that "I can only conclude that the obtaining of medical information by the RCMP by the use of paid informants and its use for disruptive purposes, either in Ontario or elsewhere, just did not take place."

In the meantime, while the RCMP tries to score points, the McDonald Commission, appointed 17 months

ago when the heat about RCMP crimes was at its peak, continues to dissipate that heat with its in-camera secret hearings.

That is why it is important that the Socialist Rights Defence Fund campaign to win support for the slander suit initiated by Ross Dowson against the RCMP should have the strongest backing. It already has the support of such internationally known figures as Linus Pauling, Naomi Chomsky, Nancy Mitford, Dr. Spock, and such prominent Canadians as Margaret Lawrence, Al Purdy, Andrew Brewin, Sam Fox, and others.

The case is only now moving towards the courts, with Dowson's lawyer Harry Kopyto examining RCMP Commissioner M. Sexsmith on February 8. Further information on the SRDF can be obtained from administrative secretary Chris Judge, 50 Thorncliffe Ave., Toronto M4K 1V5.

Toronto's new Mayor John Sewell

where is he heading to— and why??

The author has been a several times socialist mayoralty candidate, who polled some 24,000 votes in 1949.

by Ross Dowson

Two facts—that John Sewell got elected to the highest post in Toronto civic politics, and that the NDP, while making progress, did not win a majority on city council—contrary to appearances, actually stand in contradiction with one another. That contradiction will be resolved.

While appearing to pivot around the question—Where is the individual, Mayor Sewell going?—its resolution will in actual fact be determined by the further progress of the NDP in developing an effective public intervention in the civic arena, in presenting an effective working class program and an alternative leadership to the Liberal-Tory combination that controls city hall, preparatory to the NDP winning a majority in the next election two years from now. Of course, the NDP's making some solid gains in the provincial and federal arenas in the interval will further that process.

What role will Sewell play in this process? Will he impede it or further it? Many NDPers take it for granted and are confidently anticipating that he will play a positive role, possibly by even swinging over openly to the NDP. But paradoxically Sewell's campaign, independent of labor and the NDP, was a blow against the party's purpose to show that only through the presentation of a slate committed to a program can the two capitalist parties' control of the municipal level of government be exposed and progress consolidated towards forming a labor administration in city hall.

Sewell's campaign and his role since then in the city administration do not speak well for a happy resolution of this contradiction.

It is no accident that Sewell campaigning strictly as an individual in the longstanding tradition of municipal non-party politics was supported by some of the most calculating and sophisticated elements in both the Liberal and Tory camp. The machine of the retiring mayor, now leading Tory MP, David Crombie, supported him as did important elements in the Liberal machine. It is no accident that the editors of Bay Street's mouthpiece the **Globe and Mail** urged Sewell's election at the same time as they railed against and urged the defeat of Alderman Heap—for

the precise reason that he was the most strongly identified NDP-labor candidate.

It was on the grounds that Sewell rejected party politics and specifically the NDP (which he has been under considerable pressure to join), the fact that he is not in any way accountable to the organized labor movement, its party and its program that several NDP ward and riding organizations refused to give him their stamp of approval, to endorse him.

As a serious and knowledgeable student of Toronto politics, as a seasoned campaigner of some ten years, Sewell did not get Liberal-Tory support against his two well-established (what the press calls "responsible") opponents by default. Moving beyond Ward 7 where he had a community base, onto the city-wide arena where he had none, Sewell knew that he had to have some such support. Didn't he seek it out? At any rate he was given it by those who considered that they had good and substantial reasons to do so. And he conducted himself in such a way as to hold onto it. Sewell did not run on a program, nor did he raise the level of consciousness of the working class to anticipate anything concrete which at a later date he might have based some action on. Instead, he highlighted several broad areas of general concern which he as elected mayor would address himself to. Thus he raised his old community activist consensus politics, from a more or less homogeneous substantially working class ward level, to the level of the entire city of Toronto with its built-in network of Liberal-Tory power bases.

In the absence of a labor candidate for mayor, Sewell's campaign, even though cutting across class lines, rolled up 71,000 votes to the combined opposition vote of 107,000. A city-wide poll-by-poll breakdown of where the mayoralty candidates won their majorities showed that Sewell's vote reached right up into the most solidly middle class sections of the city. It was O'Donohue who polled heaviest in the working class areas. Sewell understands better than anyone that this vote is still largely under the control of those who turned it over to him.

Sewell won office in apparent violation of all the rules as defined by elementary working class political principles. There is no doubt that in the first heady post-election days,

opportunist and careerists of all sorts rejoiced in the belief that at last their way had been proven workable by John Sewell. But even in victory, the Sewell campaign proves to the hilt that there is no other way than to mobilize working class support through a party based on and controlled by that class which can build a solid base to withstand capitalist opposition and to implement its program.

Sewell is only a titular head of city council. He is actually a captive of a city council which, despite modest NDP gains, remains firmly in the control of Big Business interests. The day following his victory the editors of the *Star* defined Sewell's task, just in case there was any misunderstanding of the real situation. "But now to be successful in office he is going to have to show that he can provide leadership in defining positions that attract a majority of council." They named eight as Sewell supporters, then noted that "these people will not of course always vote together and some of them may move to the moderate center." Sewell, they admonished, "will have to define the middle ground himself and attract votes from both sides of council." Thus, they urged Sewell to practice his former consensus politics, this time with a hardened majority of stooges of the real estate interests, the results of which are already decided.

Sewell's first political act was the setting up of his executive committee—a body of advisors from the council with whom he could hope to prepare legislation which, even if amended out of recognition by the council majority, could serve to mobilize public support that at a later stage could succeed in passing it. He conceded posts to two of his most hidebound right-wing opponents, asked them to support his wish that an NDP be included, and publicly announced the slate. When the vote came his right-wing appointees rejected the NDP in favor of one of their own kind and put Sewell in a minority on his own executive. Even after this rejection, Sewell nominated these two opponents to the top upfront positions in City Hall.

When the proposed executive came before council for their consideration, Sewell did not even register his disappointment at the elimination of his previously recommended NDP. Astonishingly it was acquiesced to by such NDPer as Gilbert and Heap, and the right-wing's

control was affirmed. As if to rub in the fact of their control, the right-wing has been indulging in incident after incident of Sewell bashing. The worst is that, if there is any sympathy for the elected mayor, Sewell has not sought it. His passive resignation only emboldens the right to deliver more of the same.

Where is Sewell going? In a book he wrote in 1972, called *Up Against City Hall*, he made some noteworthy observations.

"Trying to pit myself against this

James Simpson, whose grasp of capitalist reality appeared much firmer and thicker than Sewell's, but which nonetheless failed to protect him.

The problem is, as Sewell clearly saw in 1972, he has no base. But that base exists in the working class, in the trade unions and in the labor party, the NDP, which reflects the present level of consciousness of radicalizing workers in this country and which you have to support if you seek to widen and deepen that



Toronto Mayor John Sewell speaks out at rally in defence of civil rights for gays.

massive force appeared to be quite a challenge. It first struck me in the early days as I would attempt to define a position for myself against the interests of the strong politicians—not any easy task since the safest course, when challenged, is to defer to those with seniority and fast words. Trying to stand alone even with a few friends was not going to be a successful venture. I noticed that even, for example Bill Dennison, who thirty years ago fulfilled the same function as myself, was now supporting the every whim of the land development industry from his position as mayor. I took it that the innumerable teas and cocktail parties, the secret conferences, and the ever-present advice, has worn down all his defences: and rather than appear vulnerable and weak, he simply left himself to the good graces of the industry. Surely the pressures were great enough that I could not expect to stand alone and remain unmoved by their power. What I learned was that politicians like myself who want to make change, must have a base, a strong group of people they are responsible to..."

Sewell now stands at the path which the one-time leading CCFer William Dennison went down, the path traversed by an earlier Mayor

consciousness.

Sewell has shied back from this conclusion. In 1972 he commented on this problem: "That was my first direct involvement with unions (an experience with the garbage collector's strike—R.D.) and it confirmed in me the feeling that there were clear class lines that a lot of people didn't want to come to grips with. While I might think that drawing that class line was important I think it is still too early to say whether that will become a formative element in Toronto politics..."

In the 1978 Toronto election, the Toronto and District Labor Council, the largest in the country, and key elements across Metro through the NDP endorsed, sponsored or nominated NDP candidates, decided to make the class line just that—"a formative element in Toronto politics." They met with sufficient success that now, with a more massive commitment of the CLC behind the NDP both federally and provincially, there will be no turning back.

What Sewell saw back in 1972 as being still too early, is today's reality. Sewell's coming to that realization is the only basis that can prevent him, under the present bashing by the Liberal-Tory machine, from going the way of Dennison and others before him.

Editor: Wayne Roberts

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02-01-4

Challenge to disarm

Rumania and Poland have flung out a challenge. In light of the peril confronting humanity we think Canada should respond to that challenge.

The more Washington and Moscow talk about arms limitations, the more the arms drive accelerates. As George Rathjens, a former Pentagon official and now a professor at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology sees it, the talks have only "institutionalized" the arms race.

As they jaw, jaw, jaw about disarmament the big powers have been accumulating such a massive and fiendishly destructive stock of weaponry that, should a spark set it off, human life on earth would be wiped out many times over. Not only have the peoples in the industrialized sectors of the world become overburdened with incredibly costly and inconceivably destructive power, but the peoples in the most impoverished areas have been sucked, to their increasing degradation, into the arms drive.

Sales to so-called "developing" (non-oil exporting) countries, which accounted for 5% of U.S. military orders in 1974, rose to 24% in the next two years. Since 1972, Iran ordered more than \$10 billion worth of U.S. arms.

Ottawa is on the verge of awarding a \$3 billion contract for fighter aircraft—no matter that they will be useless to uphold Canadian sovereignty against any force that might conceivably challenge the new offshore limits, or penetration of the skies above by intercontinental ballistic missiles. And to pay for them we will have to endure a new round of inflation and of course a whole new series of cutbacks in essential services.

Locked into the U.S.-dominated NATO military alliance, Canada continues to be dragged along in this perilous arms race against all the interests of its working people. Canada should never have been committed to NATO and should long ago have broken from it. The time is now ripe, that by taking such an action, Canada could strike a blow that could turn the world from its race to nuclear destruction.

The initiative for such an action has already been taken from "the other side" by two member countries of the Warsaw Pact, the existence of which is the excuse for NATO and its arms drive. The working people of Canada must respond to this initiative.

Rumanian Premier Nicolae Ceaucescu, following a two day session of Warsaw Pact members in Moscow late in November, reported to the Rumanian people his response to two recommendations of the Soviet bureaucracy. To the demand for tight integration of all Warsaw Pact armies under a USSR commander, Rumania, which had refused to join the USSR's crushing of the Czech Spring, declared: "never will we admit that any Rumanian unit or soldier should take orders from outside." To the demand that Warsaw Pact members increase their military budgets by 3%—pointing out the fact that arms expenditures disrupt the planned economies of the Soviet areas standing in the way of popular demands for better living conditions—Poland has joined Rumania in resisting pressure for increased arms expenditures.

A decision by Canada, under the initiative of the NDP and the union movement, to reject the Liberal-Tory drive to increase military expenditures would be a powerful gesture of solidarity with the bold initiatives of Poland and Rumania. It could very well set off a re-examination by the peoples whose governments have ensnared them in NATO, SEATO and other western military alliances. It could begin a process that would conceivably result in pulling the world back from the disaster that it is heading towards. It is a matter of death... and life.

The Year of the Child

A group of 11 and 12 year olds in Hamilton recently explained how they viewed the issues of the International Year of the Child. "I'd like to see more jobs available so that when we grow up, there will be jobs for us," said one. "One of the best things they could do for children is for all countries to be peaceful and not fight wars," said another. "Kids get hurt in wars."

Unfortunately not all the groups participating in the IYC have such a broad vision of children's rights. While the United Nations calls for children to grow up "in an atmosphere of affection and of moral and material security," the government's retreating social services have undermined public health and education and made quality child care a remote dream. Viewing the IYC as a mere opportunity for another grand gesture, the government is allocating a million dollars—enough, as one critic quipped, to "provide a half a popsicle for every kid in Canada."

But while the government, minus the flowery language, will do little this year, the forces of the misnamed "right-to-life" will be very busy. They will attempt to re-define IYC not as a time to improve the civil and material rights of children, but as a time to "protect" unborn fetuses. Already they have attempted, through Bill 139 in Ontario, to intimidate women and doctors by making present abortion procedures more cumbersome.

On the federal level, a bill setting up a task force to draft a Bill of Rights for children has been given all-party approval. But the Canadian Association for the Repeal of the Abortion Law, generally sympathetic to the bill, has raised serious questions about the long-term purpose of the task force. The sponsor of the bill is M P James McGrath, a well-known anti-abortionist who, upon introducing this bill, noted that "the ultimate right of children is the right to life itself."

It is important that organizations committed to the issues of childhood prevent the anti-choice lobby from diverting the IYC into their own anti-human channels. The right of children to be wanted and the rights of women to be willing mothers must take precedence over the blind forces of nature.

02-01-5

Oh Canada

By Paul Kane

The liquidation by Canadian-based Brascan Limited of its major holdings in Brazil highlights a process that has been accelerating over the past decade. Canadian capitalists, seeking higher profits through investing in the colonial world, have long operated under the imperialist umbrella provided by Great Britain, and then the United States. Over the last few decades, faced with increased popular opposition and competition from imperialist rivals, they have been pulling back from the Caribbean and Latin America into the more secure capitalist heartlands—particularly to investing inside the United States itself.

Recently the Guyanese and Jamaican governments nationalized important Canadian holdings in these countries. This month saw the Brazilian government nationalize the Light Servicos de Electricidade SA, thus ending Brascan's 80 year-long control of the fifth largest corporation in that country which distributes all electricity in Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo, and totalling about 40% of the country's power. As the Brazilian government closed the deal with the officials of the Canadian-based holding company who reluctantly accepted a write-down of \$460 million from the book value of \$1.4 billion, protests mounted in Brazil that the terms were against the public interest, and favoring nationalization without compensation.

With the liquidation of its largest profit-producing subsidiary, Brascan's Chairman John Moore, while noting that "an era comes to an end in Brazil with the government acquiring the last major foreign controlled utility," declared the opening of a new era for Brascan "of continuing developments of its investments in three basic areas of natural resources, consumer goods and financial services ... primarily in North America."

Thus Canadian capitalism, a dependency of U.S. capitalism at home, with the liquidation of its holdings in Brazil, has clearly become a dependent or distinctly sub-imperialism abroad—left the shameless role of apologist or frontman for U.S. imperialism on the world political arena.

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Canada's banks, ensconced behind government charters that assure their monopoly position, have in the case of the Big 5 alone come to control assets totalling more than \$150 billion. On their boards of directors finance capital sits cheek by jowl with industrial capital to make the key decisions governing the economy of the entire country.

When state officials under the direction of the Trudeau government announced their proposed revisions of the Bank Act, the most important was seen to be the proposal that would open the front door to the foreign, largely U.S., near-banks which have been coming in the back door to the extent of 150 so far, and whose assets have now expanded to an estimated \$3.7 billion. The proposal is to bring these expanding and overpowering banks such as Citicorp Corp. (Canada), the arm of the mighty First National City Bank of New York, under some element of control—by breaking the heretofore exclusively Canadian monopoly of banking—by granting them charters.

It is estimated that 60 or more foreign banks will apply for charters and become banks when the government hopes to pass the new law this spring.

The Canadian banks, which grew under the shelter of their charters, said to guarantee Canadian sover-

ignty over the Canadian economy, agree in principle with the revisions, including the elimination of the sacrosanct Canadian monopoly of charters. The fact is that the charters, and even the coopting of the titular heads of the Canadian branch plant operations of the U.S. corporations onto their boards of directors, have not served to block the encroaching rise of U.S. financial interests which has inevitably accompanied the increasing U.S. corporate domination of the economy.

The Canadian banks have been losing ground and hope to make up their losses by getting concessions to expand their interests, above all in the key financial markets of the U.S.

What is there in this for the working people of Canada? Government spokesmen make the absurd suggestion that the end of the Canadian banking monopoly will open up competition, and thus result in lower financial charges on house mortgages, car loans, etc.

The working class have long-range and immediate interests in this debate. As owners of even small but millions of bank accounts, as holders of mortgages, loans, with interests in credit unions, union treasuries and cooperatives, and as aiming to establish a socialist democracy in Canada, they should enter into the debate, particularly through their NDP MP's, to demand that not only no new charters be granted to U.S. corporate interests but that even the present bank charters be lifted. The Canadian banks, whose charters have as their purpose not popular sovereignty but profitability for the Canadian capitalist class, should be nationalized. The banking and credit institutions profit from the past accumulated wealth created by working people and the new wealth created by their labor. They also participate in determining the purpose for which this wealth will be utilized—investment in new low cost housing or destructive military equipment, etc., etc. Any industrial strategy conceived of by the organized labor movement and the NDP must have as its centerpiece: public ownership and control of the financial and credit institutions of the country.

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Volume 1, No. 3 of **The Real Story**, published by the Ontario Educational Communication Authority, carries a story on a submission by the Ontario Tory government to the Federal Liberal Government that accidentally came into its hands. It is a confidential document, stating the Davis government's position on the upcoming General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) talks in Geneva. The authors note that it shows a surprising departure in the Davis government's usual confidence in the economy and capitalism's capacity for recovery, and is strikingly similar to the report of the Science Council of Canada called **The Weakest Link**.

Among their conclusions on the Canadian economy are:

"that Canada, far from moving into a 'post industrial' phase...is actually undergoing a process of 'de-industrialization,' " and that the growth of the service sector and the shrinking of the manufacturing sector are alarming indications of this trend;

"that Canada's poor performance in research and development of new products and technologies is directly attributable to the high level of foreign ownership of Canadian industries; and

"that Canada possesses a truncated, largely branch-plant economy that can't hold its own in international competition."

02-01-5

Oh Canada

By Paul Kane

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Death of American socialist is a loss to world-wide struggle

The world socialist movement has suffered a grievous loss with the death of Joe Hansen this month in New York. Such a statement appears to be an extravagant, even gross exaggeration. He was not a public figure on a grand scale. He disposed of no substantial resources nor did he deploy any vast numbers in anti-capitalist combat or in socialist reconstruction. He possessed neither a commanding presence, a powerful voice nor a stirring writing style.

He is known only to a relatively small number of revolutionary socialists, largely in the United States and a thin band of Trotskyists stretching through most of the major centers of the world.

Hansen was an educator and a gatherer of revolutionary socialist cadre, a party-builder, a constructor of the type of movement that history has shown to be essential to defeat capitalism in its main centers of power and open the way to a future socialist society. He was shaped in James P. Cannon's Socialist Workers Party which he joined during the Depression in his student youth and in the world-wide efforts to build a Fourth International inspired by Leon Trotsky. Hansen was the world-famous revolutionary leader's

closest collaborator from the time that he was granted asylum to his assassination in Mexico in 1940.

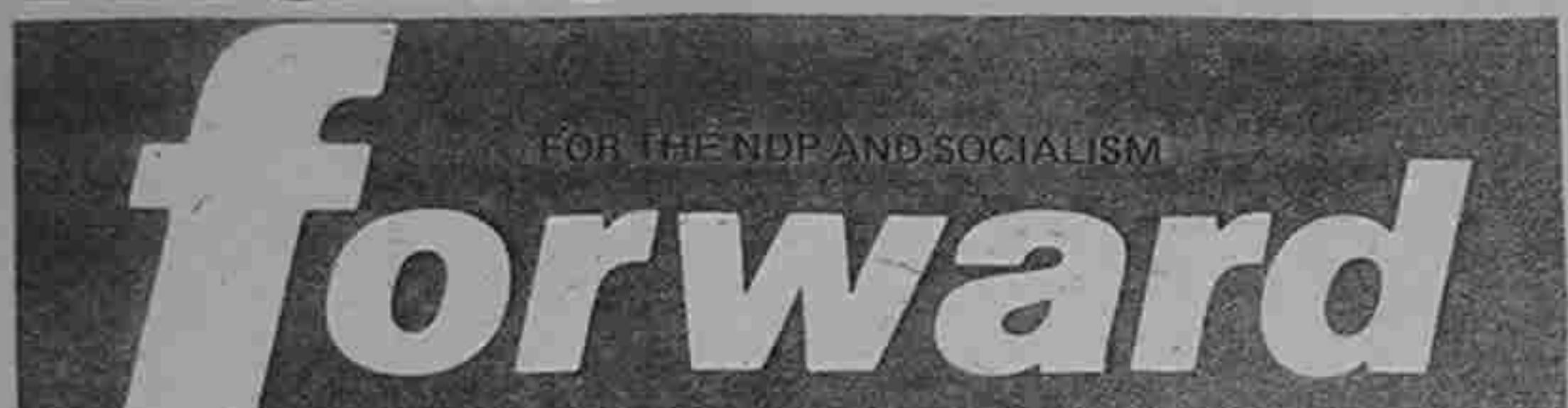
Building the party of socialist revolution in the United States and on a world-wide scale was the central aim of Hansen's life. And he brought all his energy and remarkable skills particularly to the international task in the last 15 years of his life.

He acquired a profound understanding of the contributions of the great theoreticians of socialism—Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky. As a theoretician in his own right, his thinking, rooted in their teachings, retained their remarkable freedom from phrase-mongering and dogma. He made a notable contribution to keeping the theory and practice of the Trotskyist movement both in the United States and on a world scale along firm-principled grounds and in step with the continually changing realities of class struggle.

The SWP, struggling in the central powerhouse of imperialist world reaction is a head shorter. So too are the world-wide forces of the Trotskyist movement. The new revolutionists will not easily replace Joe Hansen.

by R.D.

Make it count-Vote NDP



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Libs-Tories same Need basic change

by the Editors

At last! Five long years since the election of a man who promised to wrestle inflation to the ground without wage and price controls, but who wrestled labor to the ground with wage controls. Five years of doubletalk and coverup of systematic government connivance with flagrant RCMP illegalities directed against unions, the NDP and Quebec independence movement. Five years of task forces and agencies that have amounted to nothing but public relations ploys, excuses for the inability of federalism to either block the U.S. takeover and distortion of the economy or forge a new constitution to stitch together the bursting seams of an outdated, elite-serving BNA Act.

After five years of rising prices and unemployment, let's not blow the opportunity.

As the campaign proceeds, as Pierre Clark and Joe Trudeau are exposed as two sides of the same coin, Fuddle-dum and Fuddle-dummer, as the ad-men who package soapflakes do their best to keep the contents of their products under wraps, not to be opened until May 23, the pressure will mount. Don't waste your vote on the NDP! It's treasonous to stress economic well-being in a time of national disunity! If you must think in terms of economics, think in terms of nickels and dimes, of tax deductions for mortgage interests.

Don't waste your vote, indeed! Don't vote for what you don't want or you'll get what you don't want. Remember the workers who voted for Trudeau in 1974 to block the Tories, only to see the Liberals bring in Tory policy with a vengeance? Do we need a repeat performance with Clark?

The labor movement has had it with this kind of "choice." The CLC is mobilizing as never before behind the NDP, is turning the campaign into a referendum on which class will rule: the bosses through the Liberals or Tories—it makes no difference to them—or the working people through the NDP.

Vote for a third-runner? No, says Broadbent, correctly. "I'm not running to run third. I believe its time for a fundamental change—for us."

That's the issue, the need for fundamental change. That's why any vote that shows that the Canadian people are still caught up in the two-party shell game is a wasted vote.

To see that it's time for a fundamental change, not just a switch between Liberals and Tories, it's enough to look at the record of interlocking failures, a record which confirms that more than the record is wrong, although, by gosh the record is wrong.

Wages, prices and profits? Wages have improved at barely half the rate of profits since 1968, 141.2% compared to 240.8%. Last year's profits amounted to \$13.8 billion, at least \$2.2 billion of which left the country to foreign coupon-clippers. Five hundred companies, 0.25% of all Canadian businesses, cornered 64% of these profits. But as Trudeau shouted across the Commons floor to Broadbent: "We are glad there are profits. I would even say that the government is largely responsible for the fact that there are profits." Liberals and Tories united to defeat an NDP motion to create a commission to roll back prices.

Industrial strategy? Loto Canada is the closest this government has come to federal planning, but for working Canadians, it's been one million chances at unemployment, with 14 to one odds against each job available. Liberals, along with Conservatives, oppose an industrial strategy and a few figures tell the tale. A public debt which gobbles up \$835 from the average Canadian's income taxes, just to keep up with interest payments. A balance of payments deficit of \$5.29 billion in 1978.

The Foreign Investment Review Agency failed to rubberstamp only 130 of 1,650 foreign takeovers. The Minister responsible, Tory

continued from page 1

Who will rule Canada?

Liberal Horner, feels no shame in this non-screening: "Of course it hasn't. It wasn't intended to."

As for guidelines on good corporate citizenship, the minister responsible Gillespie admitted, after the humiliation of Exxon's diversion of Venezuela gas away from its Canadian destination: "My guidelines never got off the ground... It's all come to nothing." As for the 439 corporate mergers which took place last year, the deputy minister responsible can only admit that his "worst fears" have been confirmed, "namely that predation and exclusion are normal features of the business community." After a decade in office, Trudeau Liberals have developed no legislation in this area. The Tories, who stress the dumping of public Petrocan, are pledged to leave all decisions to the "private" sector, very private indeed, the way the mergers are going.

Assessing this conglomeration of failures, the Science Council Canada has declared "a massive failure of the country's industrial system." Policies, it charged, have tried to deal with problems as "isolated phenomena and not as symptoms of structural difficulties."

The NDP, highlighting the need for a plan, for an industrial strategy, is the only party to point the way out. "We've got to cease being tenants in our own land," says Broadbent. "We're not just about jobs in a narrow sense, but Canadian identity in terms of our own fate, our ability to become masters of our own fate."

Unfortunately, while Broadbent's presentation of the industrial strategy is broad, his solutions lack programmatic depth. In soft-pedalling the party's socialist traditions, he even neglects hard-won party policies such as the call for public ownership of Imperial Oil through Petrocan. He has said nothing about the RCMP, despite its obvious threat to the labor movement. He has opposed Quebec's move toward independence, and, despite his opposition to the Senate, has ignored the need for a totally reworked constitution for English Canada. But these inadequacies do not define the issues before the country and its working people.

The NDP was created out of the CCF by a labor movement distressed by the wave of anti-labor legislation in the late 1950s. The labor movement put its stamp on the young party and defined it as a party of labor, not just a third party, or a party of liberals in a hurry. Now after the turmoil of wage and price controls, labor is coming to the fore again. In this election we can deepen this trend and lay the basis for a movement which can begin to resolve the fundamental problems of capitalism in this country.

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Editor: Wayne Roberts

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05-01-2

The winds of change

In some preliminary results of his research on the ideological roots of the CCF-NDP, David Lewis, identified as an error its failure to recognize "the foreign domination of large sectors of our economy," noting that "until the emergence of a new spirit of Canadian nationalism in the sixties, the party's ideological cluster did not reflect this concern."

The left-wing Waffle that suddenly bloomed in the party around recognition of the dependent character of the Canadian capitalist economy on U.S. corporate power and its satellite relation under the Liberals-Tories to Washington's world-wide imperialist politics, claimed that this situation poses more clearly than ever the challenge of fundamental social and political change before Canada. The Waffle distinguished itself under the banner: For an Independent and Socialist Canada. Its subsequent expulsion-defection from the NDP inevitably thrust this question underground.

The trade union brass which played a big role in the harassment of the Waffle, and in particular the Steelworkers leadership, launched an all-out assault on this "new" sometimes called "left" nationalism, slandering it as anti-U.S. working class, even endangering the seldom if ever realized possibility of united working class action against what has become increasingly obvious a common, even identical, exploiter. They were joined in by the bureaucratically appointed road-men of the U.S.-based craft unions who continue to shamelessly oppose autonomous rights for their Canadian membership under the guise of "internationalism."

But truth will out. The 1977 NDP Winnipeg convention declared the need for an industrial strategy, followed up by the April 1978 Canadian Labor Congress convention, and then the November 1978 Ontario Federation of Labor convention—both promising this industrial strategy.

The developing crisis of the world capitalist economy with many U.S. branch plants in Canada closing down or cutting back to warehousing operations, accelerating the growing unemployment, has heightened awareness of this problem. Last spring, party leader Broadbent actually presented the NDP federal council with a draft industrial strategy which he has been developing in the process of this election campaign.

It is true that Broadbent has been extremely cautious in advocating this theme, urging the development of a government subsidized Canadian-owned industrial complex—only occasionally suggesting that it be publicly owned and never worker-controlled. But while the campaigning federal Liberals remain stonily silent, the Ontario Liberal Party is also having to talk industrial strategy. Naturally, theirs is subsidization of capitalists all the way, including if not above all, astonishing as it may seem, the most powerful U.S. corporate giants—thereby only strengthening the branch plant element of the economy.

Last week saw the election by the members of the largest Steelworkers local in the country, of ex-Waffle leader Cec Taylor to the office of president. We await the second phase of the election campaign and Broadbent's response to the Ontario Liberals. It is becoming ever more obvious that only a publicly-owned, planned, production-for-use and not for profit economy—a socialist economy, can assure Canada's independence in a cooperative world.

Native Territories leader contests as NDP candidate

George Erasmus, a leader of the Mackenzie Valley Native People, is the NDP Northwest Territories candidate in the federal election. Eras-

want recognition of "an aboriginal nation which does not choose to assimilate, to set up a system of government based on our traditions." In a territory three-quarters the size of Quebec, the Dene want all power enjoyed by a province, plus jurisdiction over agriculture, manpower, parks, fisheries and culture as well as veto power over federal projects "that would threaten the cultural existence of the Dene Nation."

Federal Indian Affairs Minister Faulkner recently denounced Erasmus, equating his demands with Quebec's option for sovereignty-association. Liberal policy is to keep the North open to freewheeling continental energy development.

The Dene people recently reminded Ottawa that there are three founding nations in Canada, and that the Native Peoples are the third building block in any new Canadian constitution. "The current debate is not legal until we can participate," they warned.

Northwest Territories NDP candidate George Erasmus

mus is a socialist who led the successful battle against the Mackenzie Valley pipeline project—and is now the leading spokesman of the demand for an autonomous Dene territory.

As part and parcel of any settlement of their land claims, the Dene



RCMP forgery, falsehoods admitted at Krever hearings

by Ken Napier

The Dowson suit against the RCMP has brought sensational revelations to the attention of the public about RCMP harassment of activists in the labor, socialist and radical movements, including the following:

- The RCMP committed acts of forgery and communicated false messages by planting letters containing confidential medical data at a convention of the Young Socialists in the early 1970s and circulated similar letters to members of the League for Socialist Action.
- The RCMP used the threat of blackmail to force a homosexual to infiltrate the Montreal branch of the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière (LSO) during the Quebec 1970 October Crisis. The informant later became a convinced socialist and subsequently refused to act as a conduit for the RCMP security service.
- The RCMP admitted making no change in carrying out its mandate to disrupt the activities of peaceful and non-violent dissident groups since the 1960s. This admission directly contradicts testimony given to the McDonald Commission April 6 by

former Solicitor-General Warren Allmand, who claimed the mandate was narrowed after 1975. RCMPers considered it their permanent mandate to violate the Criminal Code in acting against "subversives" whom they arbitrarily defined as "militantly against the status quo particularly if it was on the left rather than the right... and sometimes even if it was in a peaceful way."

The revelations concerning the planted letters came in hearings of the Royal Commission of Inquiry into the Confidentiality of Health Records in Ontario held in March. The Commission Counsel, who had previously given the RCMP a clean bill of health on the use of confidential medical data for disruptive purposes was forced to reverse his position following Dowson's submission of the phony letters to the Commission.

These letters had been introduced as exhibits in pre-trial hearings in February in a suit against the RCMP by long-time socialist activist Ross Dowson, who was the leading figure in the League for Socialist Action at the time. The suit charges that Dowson and his co-thinkers were slandered as subversive in a statement prepared by the RCMP and made public in December 1977 in the Ontario legislature by Attorney-General Roy McMurtry. The statement was released in response to questions by the ONDP leader Stephen Lewis concerning RCMP activities directed against the ONDP.

At the pre-trial hearings held February 16, Assistant RCMP Commissioner Murray Sexsmith who meets weekly with top Cabinet min-

isters refused to answer any of the questions asked of him by Dowson's lawyer about the RCMP's dirty tricks directed against socialists, active in the NDP.

The RCMP, in a manoeuvre designed to save face, released edited portions of their secret files to Health Records Commissioner Horace Krever. Even though Krever took up this offer under the watchful eye of the police (he was brought into the hearing room and subject to humiliating restrictions such as not being permitted to make notes), he still expressed doubts about some of the RCMP's conclusions. This partially successful manoeuvre underlined the importance of having full, open access to all relevant RCMP files.

The revelations that Dowson brought to the Commission's attention have already brought demands that the Ontario Attorney-General prosecute the RCMP. They also have undermined the credibility of government witnesses before the McDonald Commission.

Understanding fully the potential of this suit, the RCMP has attempted to have the case dismissed on the basis that the RCMP charge of subversion against the LSA, though read into the Ontario Legislature and released as a press release, was a "confidential" communication protected by an absolute privilege from court action.

The RCMP has refused to answer hundreds of questions concerning the truth of the statement and the circumstances under which it was made. The fight to get these questions answered and to get the truth out is next on the agenda of the suit.



RCMP sings

Ross Dowson testifies at Krever hearing

Rebuts RCMP slander of socialists

Dowson's \$500,000 slander suit against the RCMP has the support of such famed international figures as Benjamin Spock, Nancy Mitford, Naomi Chomsky and Linus Pauling. Among the growing list of Canadian sponsors are such literary figures as Margaret Laurence, Margaret Atwood, Al Purdy, Douglas Campbell, unionists as Sam Fox, Grace Hartman, Pat Kerwin, Terry Meagher, lawyers as Mary Boyce, Clayton Ruby, Charles Roach, Ken Danson and politicians as Andrew Brewin, Cy Gonick, J.L. Skosberg, etc. etc.

Another portion of this testimony will be published in the next issue



Ross Dowson

Kopyto. Mister Dowson, I understand that there is one pamphlet which describes the aims and purposes of the League of Socialist Action more clearly than any other, and it is titled **What the League for Socialist Action is, and what it stands for**. It was produced at a time when the League for Social Action was established in 1961, and it is signed by you. I would simply read one or two brief sentences from this pamphlet. I am looking at the first page of this pamphlet.

A. Why don't I read it, since I wrote it?

Q. Well, if you would limit yourself to simply reading perhaps the second and third paragraph in the pamphlet, because I think that it is not necessary to go into much greater depth.

A. Is it in order, sir, for me to make a few comments about the importance and significance of the pamphlet? For instance, in the course of these hearings, which I have attended in part, Mister Riddell and other persons have made comments about what the LSA is and what it wants. However, at the time that I came to see the attorney for your Commission, I presented him with a copy of this document with some other material because I considered this was the most relevant information a person could possibly seek. It is what we said about ourselves and it was adopted by the assembled members of the organization. So other opinions are interesting, but in my opinion don't have the weight that this document has. I would read a couple of sections of it, which I think are pertinent. I will not take too much time.

"The League for Socialist Action is a fusion of the Socialist Educational League, centered in Toronto, and the Socialist Information Center of Vancouver, and their supporters scattered across Canada. The League for Socialist Action is committed to unconditional support of the New Democratic Party in its aim to place workers' and farmers' governments in Ottawa and the provinces. Its purpose is (1) to bring together, to organize into an effective force, all supporters of the NDP who seek to win it to a class struggle program and a socialist objective; (2) to build the Party," (that's the NDP), "to participate in its day-to-day activities and to advance ideas that will give conscious direction to the working people of Canada and their struggles to defend and extend their interests."

That's the first paragraph.

Our aims are publicly declared

Q. Mister Dowson, would you describe as the point of demarcation between the League for Socialist Action and all other left wing groups in Canada or groups that call themselves Marxist that it has consistently supported the New Democratic Party or the CCF prior to it, virtually from the time of its inception?

A. I would say that's the hallmark of the League for Socialist Action and the forces around it, including the Young Socialists. This was adopted in 1961 and in the course of the subsequent radicalization, particularly in the student movement, we were differentiated from all other currents (and of course attacked for this by many ultra-leftists)

in that we told young radicals that they should find their place in the New Democratic Party and link their struggles with parallel efforts of the New Democratic Party, and we told them that they should look to support from the trade union movement and that they should identify themselves with and become part of the union movement as a whole. So this demarcated us from all other currents.

Q. Well, Mister Dowson, I am presenting to you, I believe you are in possession of a pamphlet entitled **Trotskyism and the NDP...**

A. Just before you do that, Mister Kopyto, I didn't read another paragraph from **What the League for Socialist Action is, and what it stands for**. There was another paragraph. I think you mentioned it. I would just like to read it because I think it's highly pertinent, so the RCMP lawyers and everybody concerned should be aware of it. I would like them to take these matters up today. They are key questions. [reading] "Those associated together in the League for Socialist Action seek to join forces with all those who now understand this challenge." (Note: that's to usher in a new world of peace and plenty), "in order to win the majority of the working class to this realization."

"Our support for the NDP is unconditional. Our participation is not contingent upon certain specific programmatic planks being adopted by the party and we lay down no terms as it who must be in the leadership of the party. We recognize the authority of the majority in democratic debate to decide the policy of the party and to elect the leadership it sees fit to pledge to implement that policy."

A very clear statement of our view—I believe—those few paragraphs. They are from the founding document of the League for Socialist Action and anybody who joined the League for Socialist Action during my period of leadership became acquainted with this document, because we consider it the basic statement. I might add, while it was not a formal decree—to my knowledge I cannot recall any resolutions being passed to this effect—it was clearly understood by anybody who came around the League for Socialist Action that they must join the NDP, because this was a primary responsibility, just as they had to join the trade union movement if there was a union in their area of work. It was considered to be, I would say, implicitly if not explicitly, a condition of membership....

Q. Mister Dowson, could you tell me what effect this kind of activity had on your organization and on the Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes? I believe that you are in possession of a document of the YS/LJS that deals with the character of that organization and I believe you are in a position to tell me something about the character of the organization and what effect this kind of RCMP disruptive tactic would have on that organization?

The aims of the RCMP dirty tricks

A. Yes. Well, I happened to take advantage of some time at my disposal to peruse some documents of the Young Socialists. The Young Socialists hasn't figured very prominently in this hearing, but actually it was the direct target of the dirty tricks of the RCMP.

The Young Socialists have been described by Mister Riddell as a Trotskyist organization. I would qualify that. The Young Socialists was a youth organization with fraternal relations to the League for Socialist Action. It was not under the discipline or domination or control of the League for Socialist Action. It was autonomous. And as a matter of fact, great efforts were made by myself and my co-thinkers in the League for Socialist Action at that time to assure its autonomy, that it would decide its own policies, its own positions. And in this document which I will just refer to, there is a reproduction of two docu-

Query into violations of health records site of RCMP-Socialist confrontation

The Honourable Mr. Justice Horace Krever, head of the Royal Commission of Inquiry into the Confidentiality of Health Records in Ontario, thanked Ross Dowson following his appearance and testimony before the commission on March 28.

"I haven't heard such an enlightening discussion of Marxism for perhaps twenty-five, thirty years," he said. "But I particularly want to express my gratitude to you for bringing to our attention, to the attention of the commission, the letters which have been the subject of the hearings for the last few days."

The commission had been struck off to investigate the allegations in a 1977 *Toronto Globe and Mail* article by Lawrence Martin that the RCMP has utilized information obtained through violating the confidentiality of Ontario health records in its campaign of harassment and disruption of left wing groups. Following a statement by the commission's counsel, Harvey Strosberg, widely reported in the press, that "on the evidence before the commission, the use by the RCMP of medical information, however obtained, for disruptive purposes in Ontario did not take place," Dowson presented two letters to the commission for investigation.

Although these letters, surreptitiously circulated at a December 1972 convention of a youth organization, the Young Socialists [associated with the League for Socialist Action], had been submitted by the Revolutionary Workers League [RWL] to the McDonald Commission of Inquiry a year previously, and although the RCMP had appointed a coordinator to all four commissions, they never came before the Krever Commission. Three months earlier RCMP officials had even assured the commission that they had turned over all available information on RCMP access to medical information. The March 9 Krever Commission's session heard RCMP Superintendent I.W. Taylor admit that the RCMP wrote and circulated the letters falsely claiming that John Riddell, then a leading member of the LSA and now of the RWL, was forced to get psychiatric help, in order "to sow dissension in the socialist community."

In the process of this hearing, particularly in the questioning of Riddell and RWL activist John Steele, the RCMP sought to justify its law-breaking by implying that the LSA was "violence-prone," and in fact "subversive" as defined in the Criminal Code—"advocating social change by violent and undemocratic means." It claimed it was implementing the secret order-in-council "mandate of the security service," formalized on March 27, 1975.

On March 28, Dowson, who was executive secretary of the LSA until August 1972 when he became chairperson, took the stand to rebut the rationalizations of the RCMP. The following is the actual hearing record of a small portion of that session, slightly edited for style only.

ments, two position papers on YS/LSA relations which describe what are the proper relations between an adult member of the League for Socialist Action and a youth member of the YS. The YS recruited on a more simple plane. A lower level of ideology. Not that we thought youth were not capable of assimilating our views, but young people have other interests. They were primarily concerned about the war in Vietnam, immediately concerned with the struggle on the campuses and in the highschools, which were not the direct concern of the League for Socialist Action. They had autonomy to make their own decisions.

Now we gave them advice, you know, our opinions, when we were asked. That's outlined in the relations here. But I think Mister Kopyto is probably thinking about the problem of drugs that I have raised in some conversations with him and the impact that the lack of security of health records would have on the youth movement.

I think it would have a considerable impact, the effect of that letter. The fact that it was true that Mister Riddell had psychiatric aid and help would have even a greater impact than if it was a lie. Many people are prepared to face lies and dismiss them. But if it's true, there are further implications of concern. Not that Mister Riddell was a weak person because he had psychiatric aid. I would like to think that the persons in the Young Socialists were above such an assessment of another human being, that because a person had psychiatric aid, they



Photograph of Royal Canadian Northwest Mounted Police attacking labor demonstrations during the Winnipeg General Strike of 1919. A sustained tradition of RCMP anti-labor harassment that continues to this day.

were therefore a little bit unstable and not to be taken too seriously. I believe YSers and LSAers were above that response. It's common in society. Not to idealize the organization. But I did have occasion to refer to this regulation that existed in the YS prohibiting the use of drugs. And I think it is rather pertinent. You see, if the RCMP has that information, they have probably all kinds of other information, although the RCMP has assured this Commission at each stage they had no more, nothing else.

But I would think that a person in the Young Socialists in particular, hearing that medical information which was essentially accurate was available and could be disseminated through the organization, would be concerned—for instance, if they had some trouble with pot, which was widespread among the youth radicalization; if they had gone to a doctor or anybody, and that became known. Because, of course, this would mean their expulsion from the YS. If I could read this pertinent paragraph:

Defence against police harassment

"The YS/LJS has a very firm position—" I should tell you what this is first. It's a document titled **The Organizational Character of the YS/LJS**. A very official document, an explanation by the organization of its character.

[Reads] "The YS/LJS has a very firm position on illegal drugs. No member of the YS/LJS is to have anything to do with illegal drugs and is not to live in the same place..."—is not to even live in the same place—"...as anyone using illegal drugs."

Very stringent.

[Continues reading] "The movement cannot be open to reprisals by the police and the courts on non-political grounds. We must not give the police any excuse for harassing us, creating an atmosphere of illegality around our movement. Reprisals on drug charges may ebb and flow, but this is irrelevant to the policy of the movement."

It would appear to some persons that, well, the police aren't going to bother about it now. But the document said police reprisals may ebb and flow. That's irrelevant to our policy.

[Continues reading] "Also we know that along with drugs, there is a drug culture. The drug culture is alien to Trotskyism. It is idealist, based on personal liberation rather than social revolution. We have to consciously oppose the drug culture, educating new members in our materialist concepts. The policy of the movement on drugs should be clear to all comrades when they join. All comrades should be educated in the concept of our movement about the nature of our movement so that they can understand our policy on drugs."

That policy was enforced, to my knowledge, in the Young Socialists quite stringently. Because, as I say, they didn't want the movement to be open to harassment by the police. Well, I think that the letter on Riddell, all the more that it is based on substantial information of a factual character, would cause anybody who had a drug problem to think twice about going to see a doctor; or if they had gone to see a doctor, they would think twice about what effect it is going to have. I would say it would ricochet on all things. For instance, as we all know there are many VD clinics in Toronto for young people, in particular those who are not acquainted with some of the problems of sexual relations, and I would assume that anybody who had gone to a VD clinic might not be protected, as some doctor recently admitted protecting very eminent people—"respectable" people. I suppose

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you know some doctors said they didn't report to the authorities that these people were treated for VD, but I am sure that anybody in the YS would feel quite certain that they would be reported, and that this information would be available to the RCMP.

Of course, there was a lot of co-mingling, fraternal and sororial relations between members of the YS and if it was known that one of them had VD and was being treated, it could have serious effects.

Q. At this particular convention in 1972, do you have knowledge as to the character of this convention and whether there were non-members of the YS who might have been in attendance who, if they had been exposed to these letters, might have been affected thereby?

A. Oh, the policy of the Young Socialists was to have their convention open—very open. They had some closed sessions, but YS conventions were run much like NDP and Liberal Party conventions.

A very open and public movement

They were utilized to build a big feeling for the movement, to present the broad views of the movement in a rally of support. And out of these actions, at these actions, many persons were attracted—became friends of the movement, possible contacts, potential new members. And of course, there were the followers of the movement, which is not irrelevant either. So it is not excluded that some of this information, if it had become available to persons at that convention would be used by the opponents of the movement. I might say that it is interesting to see that Mister Steele testified that this material was rapidly gathered up. I suppose that comes from a feeling that it had to be handled by the YS in a proper way. Not in the way as was suggested by one of the questioners, as an example of what you are confronted with, sir, and not to suppress it; but so that it could be used in an educational way, so it wouldn't unduly startle persons who were not prepared for such a thing.

I would like to pursue that question of the effect on the movement, if I may.

Q. Yes.

A. Yes. I have given some thought to it. I think it's a most serious question. What's the purpose of the harassment? I don't think it's any mystery. I think the RCMP has divulged its purpose. It's to make it difficult for the movement to function, to set up internal conflicts in the movements. For instance, in the Keable Commission investigation it was freely admitted that the files of the Montreal l'Agence Presse Libre that were stolen had been sought by another group for their mailing purposes. They were stolen in part, it was revealed, by the RCMP to convince the people who possessed those files that this other current that had wanted to borrow them, stole them. Because they had been earlier refused the use of them.

So the whole concept of the dirty tricks, as they are called, has been very clearly outlined by the RCMP. Their purpose was to cripple the movement and cause dissension within it, to isolate it. A series of repercussions were hoped to come from it.

Well, in my opinion, it had some results. The RCMP wasn't wrong. I have a certain respect for the RCMP, a certain fear of the RCMP. I think justifiably, but a certain respect. I think in many ways they know what they are doing. As a matter of fact, in my opinion, the purpose of this whole incident—this effort and other efforts which are not unknown to members of the YS and the LSA—was primarily to create an atmosphere that the League for Socialist Action and other like organizations on the Left, I must add, are, if not in law, illegal, they are in fact illegal. I think that's what that is all about—to create the atmosphere in the Left that anybody coming around these organizations is going to have a tough time. We are not stopping you, you know; you can join those organizations. But you can't join these organizations like you would walk around the block. And you can't just say, "yes, I agree with those organizations and I am going to promote those ideas. They are good ideas." You know, there is a price to pay to join those organizations. That's what these dirty tricks are about—to tell people there is a price you are going to pay....

RCMP's role in Canada's history

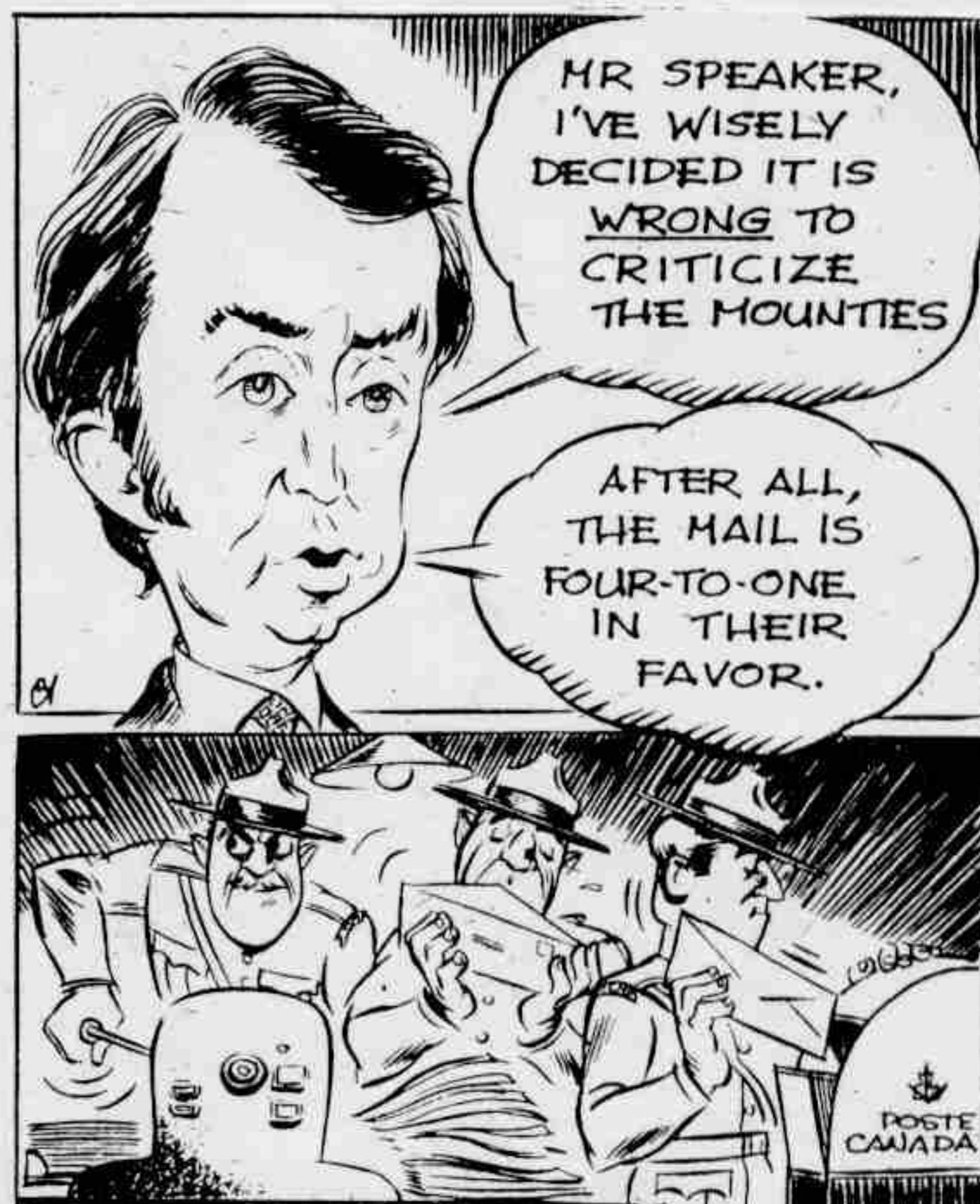
Now you ask why did young YSers automatically respond with the ideas that those were RCMP letters. Someone asked that here. Well now, people are not unfamiliar with the RCMP. This is not the first experience we have had with the RCMP. One thing, Young Socialists—persons who I know and persons who I have any possibility of influencing—they learn something about the RCMP because I try to

tell them about the RCMP. I tell them about Estevan. I tell them about the Winnipeg General Strike. I tell them about various experiences the working class in this country has had with the RCMP, and it's a long extended experience. I tell them about the Native People's and their experience with the RCMP—that they drove them into the reservations. I have no hesitation about telling them this because I think they should know the facts of life. I don't tell them to frighten them, to startle them. But I think they need to know what we are up against, what humanity is up against, what's involved in the so-called democratic process. Cutting across the democratic process we hear about all the time is the policy and conduct of the RCMP, in my opinion.

Now, it caused great uneasiness in the YS itself, internally. You see, people would take their distance from one another. Where did this letter come from? It's based on fact. How were the facts ascertained? Who got the facts? Who circulated it? So they assumed it was circulated by the RCMP. I don't know whether that's a correct assumption. I think it is, but I don't know whether it is. It's not excluded, and perhaps the RCMP may claim that some dissident in the YS circulated it. I am prepared to accept that, if it is proven, but I believe all the evidence would suggest that it was the RCMP that circulated the letters.

But at any rate, this type of material causes great unease in an organization, in personal relations, in a feeling of the integrity, the harmony, the inner confidence a person requires to have in a movement that is a committed movement—a movement that attracts the young, idealistic human beings who want to do something for humanity. That's what it does. It causes a great feeling of uneasiness. It makes out that we are something other than what we are, and it's made in the name of the power, the supreme power, in this society. It's not to be ignored. It's not what some individual says about the organization, you see. It's not some opinion. But the RCMP is there as a force and the RCMP is known to be the police force of the federal state. So it has a very serious impact. I don't think it would kill a movement, but it would isolate a movement if it was a persistent and long-carried campaign. And in my opinion, the price we are paying for the RCMP's dirty tricks, that span several decades, is a weaker labor movement, a weaker socialist movement in Canada than one could reasonably be-

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lieve there should be.

The price labor pays for dirty tricks

For instance, I came into the socialist movement and I thought the ideas were so crystal clear. They were so scientific. At the same time as I was reading Marx and Engels and their scientific explanation of the nature of the workings of the capitalist society, I was also reading physics and botany and zoology, and their ideas seemed to me to be so valid and unchallengeable in their lucidity, that I had to think—why is it that, why don't these ideas have greater support and a greater backing in the population as a whole? Because while they are not widely circulated, they are not exactly suppressed either. They are available. There are bookstores of the Left and Marx's and Engels' writings are available. The only way I could explain this was that there are powerful forces carrying out a massive, consistent campaign from positions of authority against these ideas. A powerful campaign which takes on many forms and, in the case of the RCMP—this harassment. For instance, many strikes have been broken in Canada by the RCMP. This is an historic fact. Workers...

Kopyto. I would like to ask you a few very specific questions now.

Dowson. Well, before you go in another direction, I would just like to put one point in here if I may, sir. That is, what the nature of this campaign is and what its objective is. It had another objective and I think I must bring it to your attention. You see, the LSA doesn't exist in a vacuum. Didn't exist in a vacuum. Nor did the YS. It existed in real life, in the labor movement. We talked about the multiple character of its activities. Its members were members of the union movement, and as I said, they were in the NDP. In my opinion, the type of campaign the RCMP waged against the LSA, which is a small organization and on the scale of forces in Canada, a minuscule, unfortunately, a minuscule organization—nonetheless, it had connections with other organizations—in my opinion the fundamental aim, the real direction of the RCMP is against the trade union movement and against the NDP. And I believe the attacks against us had that significance and that importance.

Socialists only the first victims

For instance, the other day I was listening to a replay of a program Ed Murrow made on McCarthyism. Perhaps you had the privilege of seeing this replay of his program. McCarthyism, in the campaign of McCarthy, which hit Canada too—I remember it very well—it wasn't the particular persons that the FBI harassed and framed with the aid of this infamous man, McCarthy, but all kinds of other persons were swept up. Its aim was to develop a climate. I believe that's commonly agreed upon now—that the McCarthy campaign developed a climate in the country, a climate that was inimical, that was hostile to all progressive thought and all kinds of persons who you might say were progressives. Persons who had no substantial association with the radical movement. Friends, acquaintances, relatives—these persons also suffered. Well, I believe that the campaign the RCMP has been carrying—it is an historical fact that it has been directed against the labor movement for many, many years, and against minority currents in Canada, against the Native movement. But even this campaign against the LSA fundamentally was part of a drive against the whole Left and against democratic rights in this country. That's what really it's about and that's why we have fought it. That's our opinion. That we are just the most susceptible, the most vulnerable, because we are the weakest and least able to protest. And while we have made some protests, as you can see from that list of eminent supporters of my suit, in general it has been a most difficult process for small groups to defend themselves against this malicious type of campaign. And therefore I must say it creates a climate, and I felt it in my membership in the CCF some years before, and in the NDP now—I feel the impact of this campaign. It has raised some questions in honest people's minds in the NDP where I work, that—what's Dowson really all about? What motivates him? He must have some other purpose! It tries to create the atmosphere that I am some kind of conspirator, some kind of double-talker, you know. He says this, but really underneath it all is something much more sinister. And I think that's one of the fundamental purposes of this campaign. And I must say from my own experience it has unfortunately a considerable impact, and that's why of course I am protesting it.

Our next issue will continue with this testimony including a section on Socialism and Revolution.

Socialist Rights Fund aids Dowson court case

by Harry Paine,
president of the St. David's NDP

The Socialist Rights Defence Fund, the prestige of its growing list of supporters and the money that has been raised on its behalf, have made it possible to continue and to widen the impact of the suit launched around the case of longtime socialist Ross Dowson, but what is in actual fact a suit in defence of the civil rights of the entire cross-Canada



Harry Paine

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labor and socialist movement.

It has also made it possible to participate in the hearings of the Royal Commission, set up just one year ago by the Ontario government to investigate violations of the confidentiality of Ontario Health records, under Judge Krever. The record of a session where Dowson appeared, reproduced in part in this issue of **Forward** and which we hope will be reproduced elsewhere, is proof of the value of that effort. There have also been costly time-consuming efforts to deepen the investigations of the federal government-appointed McDonald Commission and the Quebec government-appointed Keable Inquiry that has been so drastically curbed by the federal government's refusal to turn essential material over to it.

However, of most pressing and immediate concern is the raising of a considerable sum of money for the next phase of the half million dollar slander suit against the RCMP itself. We plan to do considerably more mailings, although the new postal rates make this type of activity more costly. Over February 8-9 Dowson's lawyer Harry Kopyto cross-examined RCMP Commissioner Sexsmith concerning the latter's contention that an RCMP statement was a protected official communication and not subject to court action. The official record of this examination, which is essential to the process of the suit, alone cost some \$600.

The SRDF needs your help—both moral, in the form of new names for its list of supporters, and in particular, financial—to carry on its efforts. Respond to this appeal as generously as possible by mailing your cheque to the Socialist Rights Defence Fund, Administrative secretary Christine Judge, 50 Thorncliffe Ave., Toronto M4K 1V5.

Despite analysis of economy

Magazine editors have no practical politics

by Paul Kane

Two of the most widely read journals of the Canadian Left, *This Magazine* and *Canadian Dimension*, define themselves as socialist and Marxist. Their contributors and editors number some of the most creative and most far-seeing and penetrating analysts of the Canadian cultural, social and political scene and constitute a new generation who are both a tribute to the power of Marxist ideology and at the same time a promise of its continuing flowering.

Thanks to their efforts Marxism for the first time has grasped and developed an understanding of the Canadian political economy. Nonetheless theirs is a gravely truncated Marxism, strong in historical analysis but failing completely as a guide to action. Their Marxism is scholastic, academic, devoid of an essential politics—the very heart of Marxism.

Their recent issues, as the federal elections have been approaching and the unions are moving in behind the NDP as never before, demonstrate a serious blind spot when it comes to Canadian politics. In no way, critical or otherwise, do they appear to support the NDP-trade union movement which is breaking the working people away from capitalist politics.

In a recent issue featuring important material on Euro-Communism, here in this country, where the tiny discredited Communist party is drowning in its own Stalinist vomit, and there are no centrist currents of

any significance, the editors of *Dimension* dream of a Canadian model of this phenomenon. Their latest issue, dealing with the coming truly historic referendum that will give the workers of Quebec an opportunity to speak their mind on the key issue of national sovereignty, *Dimension's* editors shriek dire warnings to the Quebec Left against "lending unconditional support to Levesque's program of sovereignty association." Alas, just what "autonomous campaign" the Quebec Left, which they claim "fully understands the need for coming together in a socialist party," can actually develop, is not even hinted at. And just what conditions, as terms for their support of the referendum, the Left can seriously lay down to the mass-based (petit bourgeois, to be sure) Parti Quebecois is not even suggested.

In their December issue the editors of *This Magazine* attempt a serious analysis of their past five years' efforts, in order to strike a balance sheet. They recognize that the linkages that they hoped to make through their pages of the struggles in various sectors of Canadian society, labor, culture, etc. have not been made, and that an anti-imperialist movement which they and "others on the nationalist left have hankered for," has failed to materialize.

This Magazine's hopes for a radical nationalist movement have founded because Canada has an advanced capitalist economy with no classic

nationalist tasks unfulfilled with its workers organized along highly structured class lines, in powerful trade unions and a mass political party of their own directed against the capitalist class as such, and the political parties that buttress its rule. The fact that big capital is U.S., with indigenous Canadian capital playing a satellitic role, gives a sharper edge to the struggle but excludes an anti-imperialism that would be other than working class in nature.

This Magazine has not been a passive observer in this respect. It has promoted the Council of Canadian Unions, which, raising the question of Canadian trade union autonomy as the highest principle, is a sect, if only because the real struggle for Canadian trade union autonomy has actually been taking place in the ranks of the mainstream of organized labor within the Canadian Labor Congress and its affiliates.

Just as the issue of Canadian trade union autonomy is deep in the mainstream where it alone can be resolved, so too is the anti-imperialist movement. Despite allequivocations, the NDP leadership finally placed itself in the forefront of the anti-Vietnam war movement. Today, along with the trade union movement, the NDP is giving voice to the anti-U.S. imperialist sentiments in Canada—through its industrial strategy which caused Broadbent to cry out before a Vancouver audience "Maitres chez nous!"

The Canadian working class is struggling for reforms, but this is a stage (we are not dealing with tasks relevant to a historic period in the evolution of society) in its maturation, on the basis of its own experiences, into a class capable of winning the fundamental change of socialism. Without the Marxists the NDP has no real perspective of projecting fundamental solutions to the basic problems confronting the working people. And without the mass movement and a serious involvement in it, Marxists have no perspective, in the whole next period, of linking themselves up to forces that can assimilate and act upon their ideas.

Now your turn to act, Come to aid of Forward

by the Editors

Five years ago, the Liberal minority government held an election to rid itself of the NDP's limiting influence. Five years ago, the Conservatives launched a massive campaign for wage controls while the Liberals held that card close to their chest in the electoral poker game. Five years ago, the NDP then led by David Lewis, renewed its attack on the Corporate Welfare Bums, the tyranny of the foreign-owned oil and gas and mining monopolies, and presented itself as the real alternative to working people and the victims of capitalism. And five years ago, **Forward** was born and in its first issues completely identified with the NDP and the labor movement by vigorously launching itself as the defender of labor to power through the NDP in the thick of the election campaign.

In this our fifth year of publication, we launch our fifth annual fund drive to sustain the publication of **Forward**. Our volunteer, unpaid efforts to continue the publication and circulation of **Forward** must be backed by the donations of readers and subscribers—as always. The target is \$5,000.

Forward is a socialist paper *in the NDP*. It is not the only paper in the NDP, but it transcends the mere house-organ reportage and electoral-machine routinism of much of the official NDP press. We seek to promote a wider political discussion within the NDP on programmatic issues in order to present and clarify socialist views and strategic perspectives. The goal is to educate and mobilize Canadian workers in support of the NDP and socialism.

Going beyond the party leadership's narrow, pragmatic approach to patching up the economy, **Forward**'s message to its readers is that the way forward out of the economic sicknesses of the system of private profits is through socialism.

We who put out **Forward** are socialists with a class struggle tradition within the NDP. Some of us go back to the founding convention of the party where we joined in the fight for a policy of public ownership of the basic industries of Canada and for withdrawing Canada from NATO.

Some of us also played a role in the Socialist Caucus of the mid-Sixties, when we fought against the opportunist adaptations of the party leadership anxious to avoid issues which might hinder short-term electoral gains. Nonetheless, we were successful in getting the party to oppose the U.S. intervention in Vietnam and in supporting women's rights. Many of the policies which the party brass resisted then are party policy now. For example, the Waffle had some success in winning the party to a programmatic vision of socialist planning in opposition to the increasing dictatorship of the economy by a continentalist partnership of the giant U.S. monopolies with their Canadian juniors.

Today we continue to serve an important purpose in the shaping of the life of the party. We raise the question of NDP municipal slates, of a socialist approach to an industrial strategy, the convening of a representative constituent assembly to respond to the crisis of Confederation, and of the need to build a healthy and viable left wing within the party to raise the NDP's level of consciousness and combativity in the struggles ahead.

So we now appeal to you, our readers, to aid us in the continuation of working for socialism by sending in your solidarity donations to meet the \$5,000 goal of our fund drive. Send your cheque or money order, payable to **Forward Fund Drive**, Box 778, Adelaide St. P.O., Toronto, Ont. M5C 2K1.

U.S. frustrating free Nicaragua

by Paul Kane

The U.S. State Department is attempting to ease out and replace the murderous Somoza dictatorship that it promoted and has sustained over

the Nicaraguan people since the U.S. Marines were withdrawn from that Central American country back in 1933. With Somoza confronted by the opposition of every level of Nicaraguan society, from farmer, worker, shopkeeper to capitalist, Washington has written him off as hopelessly doomed, even were he to succeed in crushing the latest upsurge in the civil war.

The question is—what is to replace this murderous police regime as it climaxes its decades of ruthless pillage and exploitation of the country and its people in an orgy of murder and destruction that threatens to take everything down with it. And what will be the impact of the heroic struggle of the Sandinista freedom fighters on the stability of Somoza's hated counterparts in El Salvador, Honduras, Guatemala? What is the possibility of the civil war spreading over into a Central American social revolution?

The U.S. power-brokers have been compelled to dismiss Somoza's attempts to mask the preservation of his regime in the framework of the cold war—that the opposition is Havana-controlled—as being unworkable and too risky. When calling for Organization of American States (OAS) "mediation," U.S. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance stated: "We have told President Somoza we believe that a political solution is necessary to resolve the problem." Otherwise, Vance said, "polarization will continue and the chances of a radical solution to the problem are great."

While the U.S. has pulled back on its proposal to send an OAS "peace-keeping" force into Nicaragua, the White House has not completely ruled out the possibility of actually sending U.S. troops into Nicaragua. It had to pull back when the representatives of 13 Latin American states summoned to Washington introduced a resolution calling for a political solution, within a framework "that scrupulously respects the prin-

ciple of non-intervention." The heads of state of five Latin American countries—Ecuador, Venezuela, Colombia, Bolivia and Peru, had earlier recognized the Sandinistas as members of a legitimate army, and Panama and Costa Rica have recognized a provisional government council composed of Somoza opponents that in-

Toronto NDP riding acclaims Sandinistas

The Toronto St. George NDP riding association's June 21 meeting took up a collection in support of the Sandinistas, locked in armed struggle with the Nicaraguan government headed by Somoza. The \$46 will be sent to the Unity Fund of the Sandinista Front.

The meeting passed a motion expressing its solidarity with their struggle and recorded its protest against any intervention by the Organization of American States as being strongly suspect of attempting to rescue this murderous regime from being replaced by one established by the revolutionaries themselves. The motion was forwarded to the NDP parliamentary caucus in Ottawa.

cludes the Nicaraguan olive oil tycoon, Alfonso Robelo.

Anastasio Somoza, who inherited his position along with the heavily armed elite military force, the National Guard, pushed his weak and vacillating liberal-capitalist opposition off balance when over a year ago his killer squad murdered Dr. Pedro Chamorro, who had been editor of the country's largest newspaper, member of the Conservative Party and leader of the Democratic Union of Liberation. This broke up their forces and thrust some of them into an uneasy alliance with the guerilla Sandinista Front of National Liberation, whose influence spread across the

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U.S. for Somozism, sans Somoza

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country broadening the base of the January 23 general strike, which led to the dramatic seizure by 20 FSLNers of the National Palace when Congress was in full session, and to a new general strike in September which has taken the country forward on the path to social revolution.

As time runs out, the swelling ranks of the Sandinistas who are in control of 20 cities and towns, rallying popular support, organizing resistance, structuring the supply and administration of essential needs of the communities, Washington continues its desperate attempts to stabilize the situation—above all to preclude the Sandinista guerrillas and the mounting revolutionary forces from any effective role in the political power structure and any new government.

According to July 1st dispatches President Carter is pressing secret proposals on Somoza which would allow him to withdraw and be replaced

by a suitable constitutional successor who would appoint an acceptable council. Carter has also opened up contact with the representative of the Sandinista-backed provisional government council in discussions in both Washington and Panama. Not of course to give recognition to it as a provisional government but because even with Somoza's agreement his first plan could only work with the acquiescence of the Sandinistas. Washington has no confidence that the Provisional council can itself contain the exploding situation but it is necessary if not essential in order to stabilize a Somozism "without Somoza," to contain it.

According to a June 29 dispatch the Provisional Council has said its first act would be to abolish the present constitution, although it did not clarify what it would replace it with. It also has committed itself to the expropriation of the Somoza family fortune. This has been estimated to amount to ownership of about 40%

of the entire economy. The nationalization of such vast, diverse and strategic interests, at the same time as it would respond to the wishes of the popular base of the Sandinistas, would pose the crucial question of democratic, of workers' control. Such a development would block even in a more fundamental way what Somoza's personal ownership and control did—any perspective of private capitalist expansion in Nicaragua to which the Provisional Council aspires.

The struggle against the Somoza military dictatorship which has unleashed such a powerful dynamic amongst the poor farmers and working class, and the weakness and cowardice of the bourgeoisie, projects, as did the Cuban struggle before it, the need for a socialist revolution. The conditions surrounding the popular struggle in Nicaragua are preparing the human forces that can lead to that solution.



Protesting against the Darlington nuclear energy project

A contribution to the discussion.
by Ross Dowson

The mounting concern about the nuclear power projects that are proliferating across the world, tremendously heightened by the concoction of lies and half truths about their safety spread by officials such as those at Harrisburg during the accident at the Three Mile Island reactor, has ignited a heated debate about the future of nuclear power. Some have even gone so far as to reject the very idea that it can even any longer be considered a source of power in an increasingly power-hungry world, that we have to switch to other sources of energy and even then have to drastically scale back on the energy that a modern highly consumer-oriented society requires.

This debate did not come so much to the fore among the enthusiastic participants at the largest anti-nuclear power demonstration in Canada so far—the one at the construction site of the mammoth Ontario Hydro's Darlington project, destined to be the world's largest and probably most costly when it is completed in 1990. The clearing of the site has been rushed ahead without even the environmental assessment hearings provided by law, on the grounds that there is a national emergency over power that is so crucial as to exclude any time for discussion, even one in the narrow confines of a parliamentary committee. That demonstration called for no construction until a thorough investigation could be made of radiation leaks,

mechanical malfunctions and design shortcomings, as are being revealed in already functioning nuclear power plants both here and abroad.

Workers, from the ranks of the highly trained nuclear technicians to the laborers, have been bringing to public attention the increasingly frequent incidents resulting in the exposure of their numbers to dangerous doses of radiation, and operational shutdowns designed to stop processes that seriously endanger surrounding communities, to the point where the authorities can no longer keep them hidden from public view. On July 4 the Ontario Legislature's Select Committee on Hydro Affairs convened to hold what its chairman, Donald MacDonald, former NDP house leader and now NDP energy critic, called the first thorough public investigation of nuclear safety anywhere. It met, following an appeal to the Canadian nuclear industry by Ontario Premier William Davis, head of the minority Tory government, to come clean with the public. "You have the responsibility," he said, "to... encourage the dissemination of the information it needs to make informed judgements on nuclear issues."

Whether the Hydro comes clean with all the relevant facts, prepared and written so that the layman can grasp it, depends on whether Davis stands firm in his injunction, on the doggedness of the committee, particularly its NDP chairman, backed by the party institutions and member-

ship, and in particular on the involvement of those who operate the nuclear projects, above all the unions to which many belong.

Disposing of those who still euphorically say there is nothing to be concerned about, the debate has already developed with various forces taking positions substantially along three lines: (1) a moratorium that is a suspension of any new developments now on stream, but the continued operation of those now generating power under much greater surveillance, requiring workers control, and a massive no-expenses-spared research drive to make nuclear power development safe and efficient; (2) the immediate shutdown of all nuclear installations until they can be guaranteed to be safe, including a guarantee of safe disposal of the radioactive wastes now piling up; (3) the scrapping of modern science's titanic and awesome efforts through the conquest of the atom to unleash and control energy from this source as being too dangerous and completely beyond humankind's capacities. In our opinion, position (1) is the only tenable one.

Positions two and three, the latter being strongly held by the so-called environmentalists, pose serious challenges that need to be answered. Their underlying assumption is that there is not now and not even in the future a threatening energy crisis, other than perhaps one that has been created by the profit-gouging owners of such present energy sources as oil and coal and which could be remedied by governmental action—although almost 30% of Ontario's electricity capacity now comes from nuclear power plants owned and operated by Ontario Hydro. Or, if there is an energy crisis, there are other energy sources that can now readily be developed as a substitute for nuclear power.

From all reports power from solar energy resources is very far from being developed, if it ever can be, on a practical scope, certainly far from meeting the needs of a modern town or city or such colossal users of energy as modern industries like aluminum processing, etc.

Some have suggested coal as an alternative to nuclear energy even on the basis of modern techniques of

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digging it out of the bowels of the earth, though much effort has been directed to tapping its stored energy by other means. This is astonishing in the light of the colossal loss of human lives even in modern and highly safety-conscious coal mining projects as exist in many of the most industrialized and worker-organized parts of the world. Furthermore there is the incredibly monstrous pollution of the environment that already comes in large part from the present use of coal. The recent annual report on Great Lakes pollution prepared by a board of scientists appointed by Ottawa, Washington and eight U.S. states and Ontario, centers in on acid rain caused by more than 17 million tons of industrial and urban pollution from both the U.S. and Canada.

According to the Ontario environmental ministry more than 48,000 Ontario lakes are threatened with acid rain death while N.Y. state officials say all the Adirondack lakes above 2,000 feet elevation are dead. The acid rain is causing levels of toxic metals to increase in inland lakes and rivers flowing into the Great Lakes, wiping out the breeding grounds that sustain Great Lakes fisheries, and it is suspected to be slowly killing the forests, the entire eco-system of earth and water organisms.

What is there left to do? After having come so far pushing out beyond the horizon to ever new horizons, is it conceivable that science has come up against some limit, that humankind should give up on harnessing the energy of the atom as beyond its ingenuity and that it is necessary to scale back on the consumption of energy that is the basis of contemporary life—or face ever escalating dangers?

Such a defeatist concept is unacceptable to the great masses of the so-called underdeveloped world, for nuclear energy geared to a planning of their economies is their only hope for the future. Not only is it unacceptable it is totally inconceivable to that ever curious and probing, irrepressible human spirit that has come so far and that seeks to follow knowledge beyond the utmost bounds of human thought.

Canada crisis requires NDP to clarify party program

by the Editors

The Conservative government of Clark is heading into the economic stormwinds of this fall and winter as a minority government with a political base limited to anglophone Canada, a labor movement which has begun to flex its political muscle in the election, and a major offensive against federalism led by the PQ government of René Lévesque.

The election itself was turned largely into a plebiscite on the leadership of Trudeau, with press and media speculation and interest focused on the abilities of the leaders. This served to obscure the real issues confronting the working people and mobilized the "anti-Trudeau vote" behind Clark—a change, but within the old Liberal-Tory gambit.

Though such tactics had previously reduced the NDP to electoral shambles, this time the NDP emerged intact and stronger, though it failed to make more than modest gains in most regions.

The most important reason for the NDP's consolidation was labor's push behind the NDP, which itself was nurtured by Trudeau's successes in attacking the working people for the inflationary spiral of the last few years.

The labor movement, especially the United Auto Workers and the Steelworkers, carried an unprecedented campaign to support the NDP with shop-floor organization and impressive literature posing the election as a contest between the parties of the employers who as a class were attacking labor and labor's political arm, the NDP. One brochure proclaimed: "October 14, 1976: The UAW was out to fight controls. Election Day, 1979: The UAW will be out to finish the job." Though the energetic McDermott pro-NDP campaign suffered from some disorganization and a late start, the real reason for the very limited electoral gains in the

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Broadbent avoids socialism in industrial strategy as

Canada faces crisis

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industrial heartland of Ontario more likely stemmed from the inability of the trade union leadership to inspire and influence a membership which it has failed to educate and mobilize politically for decades in the course of a two-month campaign. Despite this telling difficulty, the potential of the labor campaign was visible in the important gains made in BC where the seats lost in the previous election were recaptured, in the improved vote in Saskatchewan, Manitoba, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, and by the dramatic breakthrough which resulted in the NDP gaining 30% of the Newfoundland vote.

Responding to the real needs of growing numbers of workers, the NDP, in its most professional and well-financed campaign to date, presented its policies as part of a strategic package rather than isolated reforms. The "industrial strategy" attempted to project an overall solution to the problems inherent in a U.S. corporate dominated branch plant economy and gave the party the appearance of a force with a comprehensive approach seriously projecting itself for governmental power. The parallel CLC campaign to deliver union votes for the party on the issues of wage controls, inflation and unemployment complemented the independent, working class character of the campaign.

Doubtless these factors combined to cause Mr. Broadbent to consistently reject news reporters' probes for the NDP's position on holding the balance of power in a minority Liberal government. The NDP is out for government power, Broadbent repeated—a correct position of principle and tactics.

Although the NDP appeared as the only party presenting a real alternative to working people, Mr. Broadbent opportunistically steered the party away from projecting clear programmatic positions. Instead, he talked about general areas of concern: prices, industrial regeneration, etc. Describing himself as a "market socialist... very much for the free market system," he buried the NDP position for nationalization of resources and offered ambiguities about joint government-business ventures and planning through regulations. He stressed his commitment to "exclusively private" Canadian ownership as "desirable" and even bestowed fulsome praise on some big corporations as they were locked in negotiations with CLC organized unions. His economic strategy became a method to stimulate the capitalist economy, not to redistribute wealth—certainly not to change the relations of production.

The heavily nationalist and largely implied programmatic campaign won for the NDP the highly qualified endorsement of the *Toronto Star*, which was willing to overlook the

NDP's "major flaw"—its "blanket endorsement of unions." The *Star* shrewdly enthused that "on the whole" Broadbent's "program is moderate and far removed from the doctrinaire Socialist policies the party once advocated."

But if the election results require sober assessment by NDPers, the Canadian ruling class is confronted with the reality of now lacking a national party, in either the Liberals or the Tories, and the danger of a polarization that will terminate its long-standing Liberal-Tory shell game with a one party of capital vs the party of labor showdown.

Though the NDP has nothing to boast of in light of its virtually irrelevant Quebec vote, a product of its pedalling of a slightly more flexible version of federalism than the Tories, which nonetheless repelled any potential support from Quebec workers, the Tories were virtually shut out once again in Quebec. In the absence of serious intervention against the Liberals by Lévesque and his flirtation with the Créditistes, they once again swept the province and increased their vote there.

The Liberals, judging from their silence, feel their best hope lies in allowing the Conservatives to expose themselves as—not ideologically different from themselves "but—incompetent." By repeating the old fable about Liberalism being "a coalition of peoples in the centre of political ideology," the Liberal Party strategists hope once again to see the Liberal Party ascend as the most useful tool for capitalism administration.

In particular, though the campaign

revealed the fact that both parties of big business had virtually identical political positions on all the central issues confronting Canadian workers, Trudeau's enthusiastic assumption of the mantle of Opposition Leader suggests an important role for the Liberals in the anti-sovereignty-association campaign that will shortly develop around the referendum.

In other respects, the Tories have rapidly adapted to the mold of its Liberal predecessor on women's employment, on not moving the Canadian Embassy in Israel to Jerusalem, on unemployment, on medicare and on inflation. The Tories are honoring the previous government's commitments of \$2.3 billion for armed forces fighter aircraft and keeping most of the reviled civil service mandarins around on a full-time or consultative basis.

With working people facing the same old enemy—the Canadian capitalist state—though now wearing the Tory hat, the labor movement and its political supporters must come to terms with the central problem posed before it. CLC leaders have already concluded that the job of politicizing their members necessitates an ongoing campaign during and in between elections to gain the confidence and support of the rank and file for the NDP.

The NDP is confronted with the challenge of spelling out its basic positions on the current and developing issues that confront the working people of this country, of becoming a popular tribune in the commons and on the hustings for the election that can't be far away.

Editor: Wayne Roberts

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'Boat people' grist in propaganda mill

The plight of the people in the Far East is real and urgent—particularly the plight of the "boat people" who are fleeing Vietnam under the most perilous circumstances in the belief, certainly in the expectation of some of them, that they will find their way to Europe or to America.

The response across the globe, in Canada where hundreds, possibly thousands, on their own or through hastily formed groups, are undertaking to sponsor a family is in many respects inspiring. Government officials estimate that it will cost sponsors of a family of five \$9,000 a year until they are self-sufficient. In Ottawa a voluntary committee calls itself Project 4,000—the number it hopes to sponsor for their community. Toronto's Operation Lifeline estimates that it has 1,200 volunteers involved in its campaign. The efforts of the cross-country volunteer groups are in addition to the government's present quota of 12,000.

This response stands in sharp contrast to official government policy which actually served to dampen public reaction to appeals from other refugees—in at least as bad if not even more dire circumstances. The Jews in the thirties and forties, fleeing the Holocaust, got short shrift from U.S. President Roosevelt and Canada's Prime Minister McKenzie King. Those who managed to elude Chilean fascist Pinochet's firing squads and who faced, if not death, fiendish torture, got little sympathy from the Canadian government and the RCMP's screening processes. Those who made it to Canada were left largely to their own resources or to what little help socialists and the labor movement, despite official harassment, could marshall.

But here we have something markedly different—a highly orchestrated campaign by government officials and the mass media at every level. And one where the government itself is obviously holding back on the number it is officially taking responsibility for—all the more, it would seem, to build up, to rouse public indignation, public involvement and commitment, even, if as will be probable, it has to pick up the bulk of the bill later.

Whereas Ottawa indignantly denounced the government of the USSR for not allowing some of its citizens to freely leave that country, it is indignantly charging the Vietnamese government with driving its citizens out. They are being portrayed as victims of an all-out war

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Viet propaganda mill

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against Vietnamese who happen to be ethnically Chinese—as victims of a genocidal war of extermination à la Hitler—of a Holocaust.

However on closer examination, as some newspapermen have noted, the bulk of the "boat people" appear to be petit-bourgeois technicians and merchants, if they were not collaborators of the imperialist invaders of Vietnam, who have decided that they have little perspective of achieving what they think is their due in the harsh struggle to overcome the devastation of the war that confronts their people in the immediate period ahead.

What we have here in this highly organized campaign is a continuation of the massively destructive war that imperialism—particularly the U.S., with Ottawa serving as its powder-monkey—waged for over a decade against the Vietnamese revolution. Having lost its "hot" war, due to the heroism of the Vietnamese and the opposition of their own people here at home, capitalism continues its "cold" war—ironically, with the refugees from the lands that it itself devastated—serving as its propaganda ploy.

While fully aware that the official gestures of sympathy for the plight of the boat people have as their reverse side hatred for Vietnam, we support every act of help for them. The boat people should not be left to sponge on or to rot in these Far East countries that have long been ruthlessly exploited by imperialism. Washington should be required to take in any and all of them who would seek refuge there—as an act of compensation for the death and destruction that it rained down upon Vietnam.

Collective bargaining

The chairman of the Steel Company of Canada, J. Peter Gordon, recently addressed a Rotary Club meeting in Toronto, and stated that he was opposed to European-styled management schemes based on cooperation between employers and employees. "Responsibility for making management decisions is inconsistent with the primary responsibility of unions to look out for the interests of workers," he argued.

Gordon stated further that any suggestion for replacing free collective bargaining with some sort of non-controversial system is Utopian and does not fit into the realities of modern society.

The sound foundation for Gordon's rejection of union-management cooperation is indicated by the failure of the Ontario Ministry of Labor's "innovative work arrangements" program, designed to establish such cooperation. Out of the 29 experimental projects in the program, the government claimed one significant success, which resulted in "greatly improved" and "better informed and better understood" relations. Ironically, these tributes to labor peace were made mere months before the workers at the INCO plants in Sudbury, where the "successful" experiment took place, walked off their jobs in an eight month epic strike. Toronto Globe and Mail columnist Wilfred List describes the growth in membership rejection of union-negotiated contract offers as a trend "unprecedented in the collective bargaining history in this country."

He quotes federal deputy labor minister William Kelly's explanation that "many union members today feel that compromise is the abandonment of principle and will not tolerate such activities from their union negotiators."

All the best-laid schemes of government labor bodies and far-sighted capitalists and even some elements of the labor bureaucracy (Steelworkers' Director Stu Cooke served on the committee which praised INCO) have faltered on the hard rock of reality. We live in a class society in which one class gains at the expense of the other. The prolonged recession of the 70's only makes attempts to disguise this more difficult. This class struggle exists regardless of wishes or desires.

The task of socialists is to imbue working people with a socialist vision of an alternative society in which production for human use and cooperation will replace the profit motive that lies at the root of class conflict.

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Longstanding socialist testifies before Krever Commission

Rebuts RCMP slanders

RCMP out to cripple labor Ont. Royal Commission told

Below, we continue in a second instalment of Ross Dowson's testimony this spring before the Ontario Royal Commission of Inquiry into the Confidentiality of Health Records. Dowson's testimony followed his submission of the material that led to the RCMP's admission before the commission that it had committed acts of forgery and communicated false messages in an early 1970s harassment of the League for Socialist Action (LSA) and its youth group the Young Socialists, as part of its campaign of "dirty tricks" against the entire labor and socialist movement.

The first portion of Dowson's testimony, published and still available in the centerfold of the May issue of **Forward**, placed on the record official documents which outlined that the now-defunct LSA, from the time of its formation in 1961, had as its aim "to bring together, to organize into an effective force all supporters of the NDP who seek to win it to a class struggle program and a socialist perspective."

Dowson, who was LSA executive secretary or chairman at the relevant times, also explained that the RCMP, while it harassed what was "on the scale of forces in Canada a minuscule, unfortunately a minuscule, organization such as the LSA-YS," its real aim "is against the trade union movement and the NDP...to create an atmosphere that the LSA and other like organizations on the Left... are, if not in law illegal, they are in fact illegal."

"In my opinion," he said, "the price we are paying for the RCMP's dirty tricks that span several decades, is a weaker labor movement, a weaker socialist movement in Canada than one could reasonably believe there should be."

This second, as the first instalment, is the actual hearing record of a portion of that session, slightly edited for style only. We hope to publish a third instalment in the next issue of **Forward**, dealing with questions such as socialism and violence.

Should sufficient funds be raised, we hope to publish the entire testimony in pamphlet form.

Dowson is an activist in the Toronto Ward 6, St. George and Rosedale NDP. Toronto civil rights lawyer Harry Kopyto appeared with Mr. Dowson at the hearing.

Kopyto. It has been suggested from previous questioning of John Riddell and John Steele by the RCMP's lawyer that the League for Socialist Action, which was the Canadian section of the Fourth International, was under the direction of an operation based in Paris, which ordered various sections in the various countries to undertake certain acts in order to achieve the ends of socialist revolution "by any means necessary". The question has also been raised as to whether your organization was an agent of some foreign government or power. If this is true, this would tend to contradict what you have said about a non-conspiratorial nature of your organization, sir. Could you comment on that particular point?

A. You have raised many matters. Maybe I will have to segment them to answer. I am well acquainted with the Fourth International. I would appreciate any questions from any source about it. I played a leading role for a certain period in the central office of the Fourth International. I am acquainted with all the leaders of the Fourth International at that time and generally am acquainted with the problems of the various sections of the Fourth International.

Kopyto. If I might interrupt, the League collaborated with various secretaries of Leon Trotsky, with Joseph Hansen and with George Novak in the United States who was a collaborator in various books with Leon Trotsky and you are a political associate of other indivi-



ROSS DOWSON

Dowson's \$500,000 slander suit against the RCMP has the support of such famed international figures as Benjamin Spock, Nancy Mitford, Noam Chomsky and Linus Pauling. Among the growing list of Canadian sponsors are such cultural figures as Margaret Laurence, Joe Rosenblatt, Edgar Z. Friedenberg, Al Purdy, Douglas Campbell, unionists as Sam Fox, Grace Hartman, Pat Kerwin, Terry Meagher, lawyers as Mary Boyce, Clayton Ruby, Charles Roach, Ken Danson joined this month by Michael Mandel and H.J. Glasbeck, and politicians as Andrew Brewin, Cy Gonick, J.L. Skosberg, etc., etc.

duals who have been personally associated with Leon Trotsky. Is that correct, sir?

A. That is true. I resided in Europe at the time that questions here relevant to the Fourth International were raised. I was there. Mr. Riddell went over subsequent to my having been there for some considerable period of time.

I am not sure just how far I should go into detail. In an inquiry such as this you hear the questions the various attorneys have raised earlier. I am inclined to answer some of them, if it's in order to do so, because I think there is an atmosphere now around this question and, if I may, I would say something about the Fourth International and what the disputes were and what the issues were. I think it's relevant.

There was a big dispute in the Fourth International, particularly when I was in what has been called the operating center in Paris. I was in Paris but was for the most part in the real center which was Brussels. I was mostly there. I was there for unbroken periods of five, six months at a time, at various times.

There was a big dispute in the movement. A big political dispute that split the movement. There was a minority-majority, but it split it down the middle. It was referred to in this letter which Mister Kopyto brought to my attention earlier in this questioning, "Loyalty to the International means above all in practice loyalty to its Canadian section". (The RCMP admitted to forging this letter.)

This dispute was around a political position that certain persons wanted the world movement to adopt as a guide to the various sections. The Fourth International has no wealth, let me assure you of that. It has no funds, no resources which it can disburse as largesse, as Stalin did, or that even the early Comintern had at its disposal. It has no resources and it has no authority in the sense that it would even dare attempt to intervene in a section and say—well, this current holds to our position and we support it, and we are going to foster it and promote it, and we are going to move against all others.

Any section that I ever knew, that I was acquainted with, and speaking for myself as a leader of the so-called Canadian section of the Fourth International at that time, would never have tolerated such interference. That's Stalinism. We would have told any member, any International leader who attempted to carry out such a policy—we would tell him to go to hell! And if we were unable to defend our right to do so, I would think we would break from the Fourth International because of course our relations are voluntary. It was a voluntary relation. Just as membership in the LSA was a completely voluntary relation. Nothing happened to anybody who left the LSA and who denounced it, I'm quite sure. I know of no incident. Nothing ever happened to anybody—and so likewise to any section. As a matter of fact, James P. Cannon, who was one of the leaders of the world Trotskyist movement, at one critical juncture in 1953, did just that! He told the international leadership, which had a majority, a formal majority, he told them to go to hell and he led an international split

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which was only overcome through a reunification until some ten years later. I participated in that reunification and that was perhaps my major participation in the Fourth International.

Now this is an association of sister groups—a free association. It is unchallengeable in my experience, aside from what is correct theory about international working class relations, that these groups are autonomous. What the international does, through a collective exchange of opinion, is try to deal with the overall problems of the world, exchange experiences and to come to some conclusions of a broad, sweeping general character. It does not interfere in sections and certainly does not dictate to them the tactics that they are required to adopt and follow. However, after the unification took place, with the reunification in 1963, a big dispute broke out over the question of guerrilla warfare, which the RCMP's lawyer brought to Mister Steele's attention. I should take a few minutes to say what it involved.

The Fourth International never told anybody to get into the guerrilla struggle. Never sent any money to anybody to buy guns and to go back into the hills somewhere, like Che—like Che Guevara—and start a process which would ultimately, as the theory of guerrilism expounds, ultimately provide a foci, and then move into the cities and settle accounts with the central reactionary dictatorial power. The guerrilla concept, of course, flows from the situation existing in Latin America where there are no democratic forms of expression open to the revolutionary party. I was interested in your differentiation, Mr. Commissioner, of the situation today in Canada from that in Russia in 1917. Of course they are not at all similar.

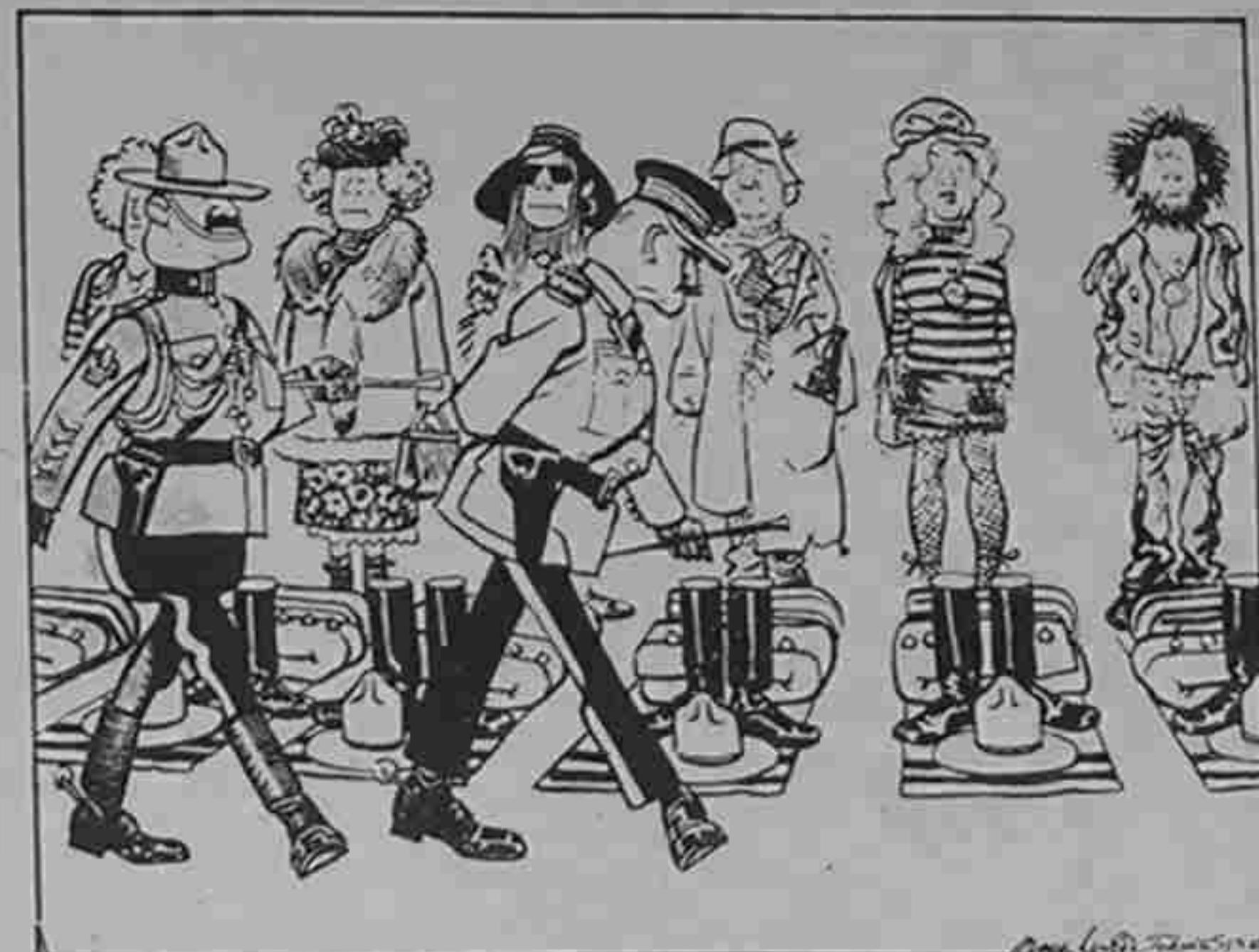
Kopyto. What about Iran?

A. Well, let me say that the concept of guerrilla struggle was a concept that was developed by sincere revolutionaries to meet the specific problems that confronted them in order to approach the masses, to organize the masses, to implement their democratic rights and their will—by armed struggle—to weaken the military authority of the bureaucracy, the military hierarchy, that controlled and still controls many Latin American countries. But it did not say that that policy must be the policy of all the component sections of the Fourth International.

However, one of the top leaders of the Fourth International proposed at one of the congresses that it should adopt the concept of guerrilla warfare as a strategy for all of Latin America. A colossal innovation! Unprecedented in the history of not just the Fourth International, but the Second and Third insofar as they are part of a continuity. The division between the First, Second, Third and Fourth International is not quite so sharp as you suggested earlier, Commissioner Krever. They are a part of a whole process. One comes out of the other and leftovers remain. But at any rate, this was an innovation for a leader of the Fourth International—that the world movement should adopt a policy, that it should promote armed struggle, guerrilla warfare on a Latin American continental basis. He never suggested for a minute that it should be applied in Canada, because such a concept would have been laughed out of court. It would have been ridiculed. But in Latin America, it seemed to make some sense to many persons, particularly new, young and enthusiastic forces that came to the Fourth International out of the May, 1968 events in France and elsewhere in that whole student upsurge. They thought it was "the latest", and a great innovation, and a very useful thing, and should be adopted—and it was adopted by a majority vote. But I must tell you that the Fourth International was not governing itself by what are known as the principles of democratic centralism. It was not binding on anybody. It could not have been, and any attempt on the part of those persons who won adoption of that policy to make it binding, if they had attempted to impose it on the movement along the lines that all sections must adopt and implement it, would have resulted in a split. Just like that!

So it was adopted as a policy. But I must also tell you, although I never participated in this more recent development, this policy has now been repudiated by the majority of the Fourth, those who remain in the Fourth International. I have heard on good authority, and I have seen the document, that it has been completely repudiated by the majority.

But it was an unfortunate episode. Sections of the movement were misdirected. That's a disagreement within the Fourth International. I think it was a valid disagreement. I must say that to my knowledge, never did any of the forces of the Fourth International go about financing such projects. I know that the Canadian section, which I do know very well, never sent any money to anybody for guerrilla warfare. We didn't think this was the tactic at all. We didn't think it was our responsibility to tell anybody to do that. It was up to each section to



KIT PARADE

decide its own tactics.

In my opinion, in the LSA's collective opinion, the concept of guerrilla warfare is a tactic which might under certain circumstances be adopted—by the persons who are going to carry it out, and not be told to do so. I would reject it out-of-hand in Canada today. And so that is, I think that's what you need to know about that dispute on guerrilla warfare as a continental strategy—it has now been repudiated.

But a few words more about the Fourth International. The Fourth International is a voluntary organization. It is not governed by the principles of democratic centralism. It basically exchanges experiences and ideas. I am not affiliated through any organization nor do I have anything to do with the Fourth International at this time. The Fourth International does not include all who might be considered Trotskyists. There are parallel organizations which are almost as big as the formation that claims to be the Fourth International—almost as big with their own international connections in Europe and elsewhere. And I say that that policy was never adopted by the League for Socialist Action. Anybody who wants to know what was the position of the LSA on this question should examine its press. It publicly disassociated itself from this position, which is rather unusual. It did so publicly. It didn't just say we disagree, you know, and we are not going to implement that policy. It said we don't assume any responsibility for that policy. We publicly issued declarations and statements in the name of the LSA—which was the section of the Fourth International in Canada, at that time—we publicly disassociated ourselves from that. We condemned it and advised anybody who would listen to us that it was a false concept. I think that covers that matter.

Commissioner Krever: With regards to the differences in the Canadian group that the RCMP letters were designed to exploit, I understand that there were two specific issues—the New Democratic Party—support for the NDP—and the question of Canadian nationalism. Now I was just wondering with respect to these issues do you know what was being discussed at the Young Socialists convention in 1972?

A. Oh, yes.

Commissioner Krever. What was the difference at that point?

A. I must say that I wasn't there. I didn't participate in the discussion, and I wasn't up on it in a complete sense. I had other concerns and other worries, but I have looked up the press, which of course is the key source—where you have to go if you want the facts—because we write about what we do. In the press—in the report of that convention—there was a winged phrase—that the convention rejected—well I can't give you the exact words now, but they were to the effect that it opposed "Canadian nationalism in all its forms". Something to that effect. Well, that was a matter of dispute in the Canadian section—in the League.

With regards to the Waffle experience—it has some relevancy—we of the LSA were actively involved long before the Waffle appeared in the arena.

Kopyto. In the NDP, you mean?

A. In the NDP. Pardon me. Active in the NDP long before the Waffle appeared in the arena. As a matter of fact, the Waffle Manifesto first saw the light of day in our press—much to the consternation of

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some of the leaders of the Waffle. We published it because we thought it belonged to the people of Canada, and we published it with no compunction. They didn't like it. They thought it should be handled by them some way. I don't know what their arguments were.

At any rate, the Waffle was the result of a response of important sections, particularly in the youth radicalization but other elements too—it even influenced Mister Barrett, who subsequently became the premier of B.C., Mister Broadbent, who is now the head of the NDP—he was supportive of the Waffle at one time. It reflected a response among the Canadian people, important sections of the Canadian people, against the encroaching domination by American capitalism of the Canadian economy. That's what it reflected. It called itself nationalist.

We had occasion to examine this, because of course while they called themselves nationalists, they projected socialist solutions. So what is this nationalism? It is an abstract question in some ways, but not uninteresting. Nationalism traditionally, in advanced capitalist countries, is bourgeois. It is reactionary. It's to fool the workers, to convince the workers they have no part separate, no interests separate from those of the ruling class—that we are all together in one nation. So traditionally according to Marxism, nationalism, in an economy such as Canada, and I must say such as Quebec too which also has an advanced capitalist economy, nationalism is considered to be bourgeois and reactionary.

But I came to the conclusion this nationalism wasn't of that character. Marxism is very innovative, in my opinion. It is not guided by dogma and formal logic. I came to the conclusion that this nationalism was radical and progressive and my impression was affirmed by the relations my co-workers formed with people in the Waffle. I considered they were moving to a revolutionary socialist position, to a Trotskyist view, in general, so I identified with them.

This became a big matter of contention.

Commissioner Krever. I understand the other matter was around the New Democratic Party and if I might sum it up for you in a few seconds, I understand that it was the opinion, it was your opinion that...

A. I'll answer the question quickly. On the question of the New Democratic Party, it was obvious to me and some co-thinkers who were united with me on the nationalist question, that the movement was in the process of dumping its long-standing orientation to the NDP—imperceptibly, and somewhat, in my opinion, dishonestly. And I tried to bring this out and open up a discussion. So at this critical juncture there were two big issues of contention in the Canadian movement, along with the issues of the world movement...

Kopyto. Mister Dowson, there is one final area I wish to explore with you, that is the matter of violence. A great deal has been said by a number of people about it. Now I would present to you a pamphlet entitled *Trotskyism and the NDP*. It is sub-headed,

"The following article is based on a speech by Ross Dowson, executive secretary of the League for Socialist Action, La Legue Socialiste Ouvriere, to the St. George (Toronto) NDP Constituency Association meeting of May 17, 1972. Dowson was introduced by David Middleton, president of the constituency association and NDP candidate in the last provincial election."

Now I believe that this pamphlet outlines the general position of the LSA on the New Democratic Party. But there is one section in it that deals explicitly and fully with the position that this organization took on the subject of violence and social change.

A. Yes. If I might just say a word about that pamphlet, as such. Mister Middleton is now in the St. George NDP Constituency Association with me. But at that time I was not in the NDP. I was the leader of the LSA. I had no time and energy to get involved in the NDP, but he invited me because I was known to many of the NDP'ers there and I think, respected. And so I made the speech about What Trotskyism is. You know, what Trotskyism is is a big question. In my opinion, it is very difficult to say exactly what it is. It is something relevant to a specific time because it is a Marxist political movement which deals with political issues of the time. If someone came along at a certain time and were to ask me what is Trotskyism—well I could outline it, enumerate it on the key questions of the time. What we have to say on them. That's the way I would answer such a question.

So I tried to tell them what Trotskyism is in a general way in this speech, and there are a couple of sections I would like to put in the record in case the lawyers for the RCMP have not had time to read it. I'll just put it on the record and you can hear it.

"All socialists, including revolutionary class struggle socialists, would prefer the realization of a socialist society by peaceful means. No great transition in history has ever been achieved peacefully—no ruling class heretofore has ever left the stage of history without resorting to the most disparate and most violent struggle, even threatening to take all society down with it. There is no reason to believe that the capitalist class in North America who resist modest union demands so bitterly, armed with the H bomb and faced with the loss of the very source of their wealth and power at home, would peacefully depart from the scene should the revolutionary aspirations of the masses rally a majority in a parliamentary election.

The problem is not that the NDP leadership oppose extra-parliamentary action. Under certain circumstances they are prepared to employ it with great vigor—but only as a device, distinctly supplementary—as a form of pressure, to increase their weight in parliament or the weight of parliament itself within the state apparatus.

The NDP leadership affirm parliament and bourgeois electoral politics as the only road to social progress, when the ruling class everywhere have shown themselves in no way committed to parliamentary democracy. In times of crisis they (the ruling class) are prepared to treat it as a mere facade covering over the real power structure, hiding the state apparatus constructed to defend bourgeois property by any means necessary."—that fateful phrase—(an aside by Dowson) "including force and violence.

"We no longer need refer to Spain, Germany or the Winnipeg General Strike and Section 98. We have the experience of Quebec, October, 1970."

Interesting, and I commented on that. (Another aside by Dowson.)

"By a simple act of four cabinet ministers, after an hour's

→ to p. 4



work on documents signed and dispatched by the governor general, Canada awoke on an October morning to find the institutions of parliamentary democracy completely swept aside and the army and police in charge.

The LSA sees parliament and electoral campaigns as an important area of activity, but as a propaganda forum and as a test of ideas. For us, the new social order can only be constructed through the self-action of the masses themselves."

Now I had occasion to develop that theme further—and I want you to know everything. I wrote a pamphlet called **The Coming Canadian Revolution**. I gave that to the counsel of this commission, Mister Strosberg, first thing because I thought, well, it's going to come up—so what do we have to say about this. I expound on this Coming Revolution and I don't pull any punches as to what it is.

It is worth noting that there is nothing in this pamphlet about violence. I don't know how that is to be explained by someone who thinks that the Trotskyists are advocates and initiators of violence. I didn't even write about this. I hardly mentioned it—although I did write about the transition to power. But there is almost nothing about violence.

In fact, I wrote about violence—in **bourgeois society**. I wrote about class antagonisms, which I think are an undeniable fact of our present day society. This society is divided along class lines. And of course the conflict between the worker and the employer is a class antagonism. A very destructive antagonism in my opinion, speaking as a Socialist and a Marxist. It is a destructive antagonism. We want to eliminate it. That's what the struggle for socialism is all about.

"Far from promoting class antagonisms and conflicts (I am reading a paragraph here, in which I refer to Marx.) Marx saw them as an integral part of, as being built right into the capitalist system. 'If', as he expressed it in the famed Communist Manifesto, which he wrote with the youthful Engels, the working class 'is compelled to organize as a class, if by means of a revolution, it makes itself the ruling class, and as such sweeps away by force the old conditions of production, then it will along with these conditions, have swept away the conditions for the existence of class antagonisms, and of classes generally, and will thereby have abolished its own supremacy as a class.'

This is a basic concept of Marxism. I wrote about the revolution, but to me—I am astonished when I hear people—it never ceases to astonish me—talk about the revolution—as violent. To me the revolution is a great liberatory concept, a great ideal, you might say even a romantic concept. The French Revolution? Yes, I know about The Terror. But I think that was incidental to the revolution, to this great event.

And I know about the Cromwellian period and the regicide. But that was incidental to the great liberatory impact this revolution had on British society. It opened up a whole new world.

So when I comment on the revolution, I didn't write about the violence which has often accompanied it. I wrote about its liberatory aspects and that's what this pamphlet is about, primarily. So I continue, following the subhead **Towards Freedom**,—that's what the struggle is about:

"Far from being proponents of some all-engulfing statism, Marx and Engels saw the state, as class antagonisms dissipated, beginning to wither away—being transformed as an instrument to preserve democracy into an administrative tool."

I will jump a whole section on to another:

"Whereas Confederation, (it's a Canadian pamphlet, of course. I always want to talk about Canada. That's what socialists want to deal with. We want to learn what we can from elsewhere but I want to write about Canada):

"Whereas Confederation was foisted on our forefathers, the coming Canadian revolution will be the most profoundly democratic act in our entire history. Those forces that have built and sustained a mighty union movement, created and sustained a mass political party of their own (the NDP) who will overcome all the chicanery and deception of the ruling class and their high-priced help to storm and conquer the very citadels of their power, are not likely to succumb to the blandishments of some two-bit operators who might inveigle their way into its ranks for their own purposes. The profoundly democratic instruments necessary to mobilize the vast majority of the population to such a titanic task will separate out the opportunists and the frauds."

I could read some more but I don't want to infringe unduly on the Commissioner's time. But I hope that the legal profession here takes this document as a serious expression of our views and I would like to move on to another aspect of the question, unless you wish...

(To be continued.)

ON THE LINE



by P. Kent

Day of Protest lie

Canada's first coast-to-coast political general strike on October 14, 1976, the National Day of Protest against the federal government's imposed wage freeze, will never be forgotten. But an incident that the Big Business-kept mass media parlayed into a horrific anti-labor scandal at the time can only now be fully weighed in the balance.

Remember the shocking story about a group of unionists at Barber Hydraulic Turbine setting a co-worker on fire because he didn't support the Day of Protest? The righteously indignant company suspended some 22 workers for four days, fired another, Doug Allen, for withholding information, and the "hu-

man torch" himself.

The balance now stands: last year a court convicted the "human torch" of public mischief as evidence showed that he had set himself on fire and tried to blame union members; and although the union took up his case, an arbitrator has refused to reinstate him as he had "engaged in deception to the detriment of the company"; the suspensions of the 22 were overturned earlier this year; and Allen has now been reinstated with back pay of about \$7,000.

The mass media has said very little on the truth of this tale and no doubt the lie will continue to resurface from time to time. Thought you would like to know. Pass it on.

Unemployment blues

The top brass of the Canadian Labor Congress spoke bitter words last month against one of the final deeds of the Trudeau government—about the unemployment situation and an aspect of it that appears to be of particular concern to them.

It seems that Ottawa, despite all of President McDermott's and others' representation, decided to abolish all existing posts of labor counsellors attached to Canadian embassies abroad—all three of them—one in Washington, one in Brussels and another in London.

CLC President McDermott's arguments covered a wide range—from appeals about international labor's potential against multinational corporate power, to which Ottawa, being tied particularly to the U.S.-owned multinationals, was stone deaf, all the way to the niceties of reciprocal relations with such states as the U.S., which he noted has more than 50 labor counsellors attached to its embassies across the globe. Ottawa appeared to see no need to duplicate these services, which the CIA has put to such good use and are available to the RCMP when needed.



CLC President McDermott

But he was discrete about the real concern of the trade union bureaucracy—to win some formal recognition as a responsible element in the capitalist government's policy-making apparatus. Despite dire warnings from some sectors of the left, Ottawa saw no need to respond to the labor bureaucracy's earlier appeals for Tripartite recognition, and sees none now.

07-08-6a

Labor mobilizing its forces to fight against the cutbacks

The anti-cutbacks movement has come to the fore in the last few months signifying a deepening radicalization. This has expressed itself in public demonstrations, some of a highly spontaneous character, against governments at Queen's Park and boards of education in the Metro Toronto area whose automatic response is—make the working class family pay.

In May, 3,500 parents and teachers massed into the Toronto Board of Education building overflowing into the streets to stop the firing of 350 elementary school teachers. The dramatic testimony of parents of children who require special language and special education programs served to sway previously pro-cutbacks trustees to join with the NDP trustee caucus in voting to retain the teachers by readjusting the Board's budget.

Around the same time, in North York, an unprecedented, parent-organized rally of more than 1,000 protested during the Board's meeting which decided to fire 214 teachers. Reflecting the increasingly working-class and immigrant composition of the suburbs, parents declared their hardships somewhat along the same lines as the Toronto parents. The unyielding, business-oriented Board went through with their teacher-firing, thereby galvanizing outraged parents and teachers to

step up their organizing efforts. For example, another equally large rally followed when the North York Board decided to fire 181 high school teachers despite the large class sizes and urgent social needs evident in the schools. The next stage will doubtless see the growth of possibilities for NDP trustee slates.

The labor movement, too, has organized to defend itself against public services cutbacks. A demonstration of over 2,000, primarily organized by CUPE, took place at the Ontario parliament buildings on June 14.

One week later, a demonstration of about 600 teachers, day care workers, social workers, parents, university students, NDPers from all parts of Metro converged at Queen's Park to protest cutbacks which are harmful to children in the International Year of the Child. Tory cabinet ministers for social services and education, Margaret Birch and Bette Stephenson, were booed and drowned out by the crowd. NDP leader Michael Cassidy received tumultuous applause for his attacks against the government's record and his defence of social services and jobs.

The NDP presence at all these rallies together with the distribution of the Metro New Democrats leaflet to the June 21 rally marks a positive activist turn for the party.

→ to page 2

Ever-increasing unity

A merger convention held in Washington this month has laid the groundwork for the foundation of a new United Food and Commercial Union. The organization will unite the Retail Clerks International Union, headed by Cliff Evans and with 55,000 members here, and the Canadian Food and Allied Workers, headed by Romeo Mathieu with 65,000 Canadian members.

The merger terms appear to guarantee the Canadian membership considerable autonomy—with Canadian delegates at international conventions electing three international vice-presidents, two of whom will

serve as co-directors in Canada. The founding unions will maintain separate identities within the new organization until 1988.

Evans notes "we expended a lot of energy and money in the past vying with each other in organizing. Now we can pool our resources and efforts." Mathieu predicted the unified body "should have a tremendous impact at the retail level in the unions by centralizing our efforts." The new organization will be Canada's fifth largest union, surpassed in members only by CUPE, the Public Service Alliance, the Steelworkers and Autoworkers.

Canadian autonomy

The international convention of the Brotherhood of Railway, Airline and Steamship Clerks, held in Toronto last month, approved a separate constitution for its Canadian division which allows the Canadian members to elect their own officers.

control union dues and set union policy in Canada. According to W.C.Y. McGregor, the Canadian president who was re-elected as an international vice-president, "We have complete authority in Canada."

OPSEU goes union

The delegates to the annual convention of the 65,000-member Ontario Public Service Employees Union (OPSEU) joined with members and supporters of the Canadian Union of Public Employees in an anti-cutback demonstration in front of the Ontario Queen's Park Legislature on June 14

in a rally of some 1,500 demonstrators. Two days later the OPSEU delegates, by a vote of 395 to 164, became the ninth provincial government employees union to join the house of labor—The Canadian Labor Congress.

07-08-62

Urges prosecution of RCMP criminals

On June 14, at the same time as the RCMP submitted a massive five volumes of material, Ross Dowson made a policy submission of 4½ pages of double-spaced typed copy to the Royal Commission of Inquiry into the Confidentiality of Health Records. On April 17, Dowson made an extended verbal submission on matters of argument of the evidence that had earlier been presented to the Commission.

Among the highlights of his June 14 submission was Dowson's recommendation that Commissioner Krever urge the Ontario Attorney-General's office to immediately lay criminal charges against the RCMP for its violations of the Criminal Code of Canada. He also urged consideration of a proposition that Dowson had earlier raised before the federal McDonald Commission of Inquiry into RCMP violations of civil rights over a year ago—the abolition of the RCMP. Dowson stated that the RCMP's very existence is in violation of the BNA Act, as J.S. Woodsworth, founder of the CCF-NDP, pointed out years ago.

Below we reproduce the five summary points in Dowson's June 14 submission:

"The experiences of the Royal Commission in the above respect requires in our opinion that Commissioner Krever seriously consider among his recommendations:

1. That the RCMP must be publicly censured for its violation and its counselling others to violate the confidentiality of Ontario Health information;
2. That the Ontario Attorney-General's office be asked to immediately lay criminal charges against the RCMP for its violation of the Criminal Code specifically sections 324 and 330 in respect to its use of the information that it obtained in violation of the confidentiality of health information;
3. That the so-called "mandate" to harass and disrupt such groups as the League for Socialist Action which directed/encouraged the RCMP to violate the confidentiality of Ontario health information be reviewed by the appropriate federal authorities to assess whether the named organizations actually can be said to be subversive—that is, advocate social change by "violent and undemocratic means" or are in reality organizations of legitimate, political and social dissent, and that such organizations should have a full and proper hearing to

Top court to decide on RCMP stonewall

Though the 14 month long public hearings of the Krever Commission wound to a close on July 4 they may be reconvened later this year. This will depend on the outcome of a last ditch stand by the RCMP to have the courts uphold its refusal to hand over to the royal commission the names of the doctors and health officials who gave it confidential health information.

Last May in what has been called a landmark judgment the Ontario Appeal Court ruled that the RCMP must hand over the names involved in 368 instances, some of which the RCMP claims were connected with counter-intelligence operations of anti-terrorist surveillance. The judgment was that "informer" privilege did not apply to the RCMP's refusal to give the information to the Royal Commission. A subsequent appeal by the RCMP to have the case reopened resulted in a one line dismissal. However, the RCMP has appealed the Ontario court judgment and has been given the go-ahead to challenge it by three judges of the Supreme Court of Canada, headed by Chief Justice Bora Laskin.

Should the Supreme Court dismiss the RCMP's appeal when it sits in October, Justice Krever says he will reconvene the hearings although they might be held "in-camera" for reasons of "national security."

defend themselves from being placed on what appears to be a federal government "subversive" list;

4. That in light of the evidence before this commission that the Official Secrets Act and other relevant federal laws be amended to exclude the use of "national security" considerations as an excuse to frustrate, block and prevent the expression of legitimate minority political and social dissenting views;

5. That in light of the RCMP's actions as revealed before this commission, in the course of the constitutional discussions that have been ongoing events and are certain to widen should the first Quebec referendum on sovereignty association rally substantial support and should Opposition leader Pierre Trudeau press for the patriation of constitution [the BNA Act] proper and due consideration be given to the matter of the abolition of the RCMP. Its very existence is in violation of the BNA Act and it is in effect a para-military conspiratorial political police institution that is inimical to the democratic aspirations of the Canadian people."

Clearing way for Forward funddrive

by the Editors

At this point, we are at about the \$2,000 mark, or 40%, of our \$5,000 fund drive goal. This slow start reflects the temporary diversion of our major efforts in the NDP campaign during the last federal election. But we are looking forward to arriving at our urgently needed target by the end of the summer.

We played an important role in the election campaign through **Forward**, aside from the routine campaign duties we performed. We succeeded in distributing close to 5,000 copies to homes of NDP supporters in Toronto and Windsor on a selective basis, to a mass rally of 2,000 against the construction of the projected Darlington nuclear plant (where **Forward** served as the only public voice representing the NDP position), and to other rallies connected with the election.

In the process of building towards a socialist Canada, **Forward**'s message is that socialists should unconditionally support the NDP as a decisive step forward for independent working-class politics and yet maintain a clear socialist criticism of the reformist and vague approach of the party leadership in their presentation of the NDP alternative.

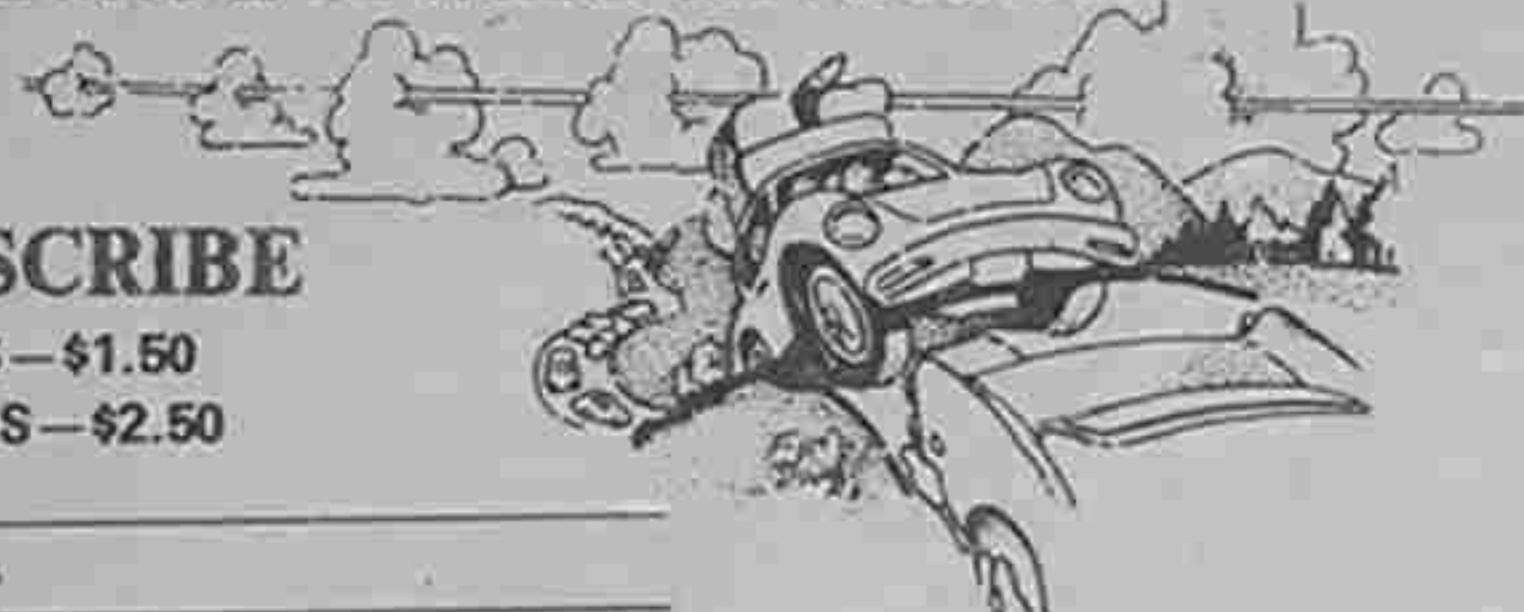
Against the Broadbent leadership's presentation of an industrial strategy in general terms of U.S. own-

ership being "a matter of concern," the task of socialists in the NDP is to clarify it into a socialist program. The NDP's historic task is to counter the unfettered rule of the imperialist corporations with a strategy that repatriates our natural resources through nationalization, that projects socialist planning, and mobilizes workers located in the centres of production to implement a democratization of production through a system of workers' control around the issues of a socialist industrial strategy. In going with the political experience of the Canadian working class, we aspire to simultaneously help to raise the level of consciousness of its most politicized elements and to help crystallize a left wing within the NDP.

This task becomes more urgent as we head towards the November NDP federal convention and next year's municipal elections.

The material basis for realizing our collective role is through your generous financial support of **Forward**. Your support is need now. If you have not already donated or pledged to the Forward Fund Drive, please take this opportunity to do so. Post-dated cheques are acceptable. Mail your cheque or money order payable to Forward Fund Drive, Box 778, Adelaide St. P.O., Toronto, Ont. M5C 2K1.

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New course advocated by prominent New Democrats

by the Editors

Two important documents are now being circulated through the ranks of NDP activists. One, which we have summarized on page 2, is in the form of a policy statement and resolution for the coming federal NDP convention. It is presented by five members of the NDP federal council representing four different provincial sections, including Quebec. Among the eight other signers are top party spokesmen in Northern Ontario, including the president of the largest union local and the MP who holds the labor portfolio in the federal parliamentary caucus, and two prominent leaders of the Maritimes New Democratic Party.

It calls for "an industrial strategy for the whole country in which public ownership becomes the major tool to control the economy for people and also a means to introduce democratic and cooperative control of the work place." It is an appeal to the party to raise the socialist alternative to the bankrupt Liberal-Tory efforts to regulate the private enterprise, or capitalist economy. "Tinkering with capitalism will not produce the kind of society we want ... the choice for all of us is becoming clearer. Either big business owns government or government owns big business. As our economic crisis continues democratic socialism is not only becoming desirable, but necessary."

The other document is a penetrating commentary on what its author Odoardi Di Santo, NDP MPP Downsview, sees as the present "predicament," the "malaise," the "crisis" which the party is now suffering. It is a significant rounding out of the above-mentioned federal convention resolution.

Di Santo sees the party as being without "a coherent political line, and above all, without offering a convincing leadership." He says "the deficiency in cultural inquiry, the want of an analysis of the 'emergent' themes, the lack of cohesive leadership have resulted in dismay and bewilderment, not only among the members of provincial parliament, but also among the executive members and the base."

Di Santo sees as the root of the party's malaise "the lack of a cultural dimension which prevents the party from understanding the problems of society ... the absence of an internal debate, the paucity of social analysis, and the fragmented and inorganic character of action."

The problems that confront the party will not be resolved by the formulation, no matter how brilliant, of a resolution for a coming convention nor an analysis, no matter how insightful, of their roots. A deep inertia and a powerful opposition, continually being reinforced by capitalist pressures on the party, stand in the way of their getting a hearing, let alone serious consideration — not to speak of their winning out. The struggle to give the strategic objective of a socialist Canada to the NDP and to formulate and win it to programmatic demands that express that necessity and prepare the work-

ing class to establish it is a long and difficult one.

The first requirement is the grouping of those forces who have some concept of this need. At the last Ontario convention efforts along this line were taken and it was anticipated that some kind of continuity of relations would be established, perhaps even through a publication of some type, making it possible to define our views, to reach minimal effective agreements and, on a persistent basis, widen our influence.

To be sure, as the crisis deepens our views will be affirmed again and again. But precious forces are being lost, and firm progress in the establishment of a socialist wing in the party is urgent.

09-10-1

Socialist rights law suit sparks OPP probe of RCMP crimes

by C. Judge #38-1979

The Ontario Provincial Police will be conducting an investigation into the RCMP, the Ministry of the Ontario Attorney-General, the Honourable Roy McMurtry, affirmed on September 10. The next day at a meeting of provincial attorneys-general in Montreal, McMurtry denounced the McDonald Commission—set up by the federal government in an attempt to defuse Quebec's Keable Inquiry into illegalities committed by the RCMP—for its failure to keep provincial authorities informed on those crimes committed in their jurisdictions. There is little doubt that these startling incidents arise from Toronto lawyer Harry Kopyto's bringing to McMurtry's attention earlier this spring that a top officer of the federal police,

RCMP Superintendent Taylor, admitted under his questioning before a royal commission that the RCMP forged letters and circulated them or caused them to be circulated in their campaign of dirty tricks against a socialist organization. The admission took place before the Royal Commission on the Confidentiality of Health Records under Mr. Justice Krever, appointed by the Ontario government, where Mr. Kopyto was representing Ross Dowson who had been executive secretary or chairman of the now defunct League for Socialist Action (LSA) at the relevant time in 1972.

Mr. Kopyto, on behalf of Dowson, challenged the Ontario attorney-general to lay charges against the RCMP for violating sections 324 and 330 of the Criminal Code of Canada

and to investigate the circulation of the letters involving possibly break-in and entry or petty trespass of a Toronto public school where the youth group of the LSA was holding a convention. Kopyto's request that the attorney-general take action was pressed by NDP MPP David Warner.

Also moving forward again is the half-a-million-dollar suit launched by Dowson against the RCMP for slandering him as advocating social change by violent and undemocratic means. This month a federal court will make a ruling on an RCMP motion that a statement read before the Ontario House and released by Attorney-General McMurtry to the press in late 1977 was privileged. This manoeuvre is essentially designed to block discoveries, the mid-

continued on page 8

Ont. attorney-general forced to probe RCMP crimes

continued from page 1

stage of a trial which would give Dowson's lawyer an opportunity to question the RCMP concerning its activities against the LSA, "ex-Communists," the Waffle and the New Democratic Party.

The RCMP is arguing that its words slandering Dowson appeared in an official communication, which is protected from being the subject matter of a law suit. Dowson's affidavit now before the court countering this argues that the RCMP's statement was released as a press release without any changes, that the statement was completely prepared prior to its communication, and that the RCMP in any case made the statement in order to avoid revealing its activities within the NDP rather than answer the questions asked of it by the then NDP leader Stephen Lewis.

The RCMP will not hesitate to appeal any unfavorable decision in its attempts to block the suit and considerable money is needed by the Socialist Rights Defence Fund to assure that the case will progress through the courts. The suit which is

an attempt to establish the legitimacy of dissident, including Marxist opinion, has won the support of such internationally known figures as: Dr. Benjamin Spock, Noam Chomsky, Nancy Mitford and Linus Pauling, and a great many Canadians among them: Margaret Laurence, Al Purdy, Sam Fox, Grace Hartman, Clayton Ruby, Andrew Brewin, Cy Gonick, Edgar Z. Friedenberg and others. Among those who have recently added their names are: J. Levitt, professor of history, Ottawa University; R. Aldrich, professor of music, University of Western Ontario; H.J. Glasbeek, barrister and solicitor of the Supreme Court of Victoria and professor of law, York University; Michael Mandel, professor of law, Osgoode Hall law school, York University; Gerry Hunnius, professor of social science, Atkinson College, York University; Francis Henry, professor of anthropology, York University; and others.

Statements of support and financial contributions are urgently needed and should be sent to the Socialist Rights Defence Fund, 50 Thorncliffe Ave., Toronto, M4K 1V5.

Ontario Royal Commission hears Dowson

Rebut RCMP slanders



Ross Dowson

Dowson's \$500,000 slander suit against the RCMP has the support of such famed international figures as Benjamin Spock, Nancy Mitford, Noam Chomsky and Linus Pauling. Among the growing list of Canadian sponsors are such cultural figures as Margaret Laurence, Joe Rosenblatt, Edgar Z. Friedenberg, Al Purdy, Douglas Campbell, unionists as Sam Fox, Grace Hartman, Pat Kerwin, Terry Meagher, lawyers as Mary Boyce, Clayton Ruby, Charles Roach, Ken Danson joined this month by Michael Mandel and H.J. Glasbeek, and politicians as Andrew Brewin, Cy Gonick, J.L. Skosberg, etc., etc.

Kopyto: Well, I think it might be useful to move towards concluding your comments. But if there is some other important point—

Dowson: Yes. There are a couple of comments which Mister Krever himself raised and I would like to answer them. I appreciate, sir, that you have moved off, some degrees off the immediate terms of reference of the Commission, but the RCMP's line of questioning of Mr. Riddell and Mr. Steele has made a lot of things relevant to the Commission's hearing and I think you yourself have, in your search for some of my and other persons' views.

For instance, you made a statement in the record here, sir, that, "wouldn't Leon Trotsky turn over in his grave if he had heard his name being associated with a group that says the change in society is to come about by free elections". I gather you think that's what Mister Riddell said. That socialism would come about by free elections. I would like to comment on this.

You also said to Mister Riddell at another stage, "Your group believes in the inevitability of violent overthrow of existing capitalist governments." You also said, "It could be concluded that the LSA holds to the view of the need to overthrow existing capitalist governments and society by force". These are clear positions. I think they are not novel positions, and have been answered by the socialist movement. I would like to answer them not only by expressing my own opinions, which could be subject to question, could be considered not to be really authoritative, but with the views of such persons as, for instance, Leon Trotsky himself. If I could take a few minutes I would bring to your attention a couple of statements by such authorities on this question.

Marxists have always said, and as a matter of fact James P. Cannon, who was placed on trial under the Smith Gag Act in the United States in 1941—this is the court record of the trial (Dowson hands Commissioner Krever a copy of the pamphlet *Socialism on Trial*). Cannon said (on page 135) "It is the opinion of all Marxists that the transformation of society from capitalism to socialism, the revolution, will be accompanied by violence".

I believe that's quite different from saying it would be accomplished by violence. I think the words are important. It will be "accompanied". I believe there has been no revolution that hasn't been accompanied by violence, but is it accomplished by violence? Well if you say accomplished by violence, you are saying that the revolutionaries, those who oppose the status quo, present conditions, they were the instigators of the violence, or the promoters, or the organizers of the violence. And not the forces of the counter-revolution.

Lenin & Trotsky for 'peaceful outcome'

I should bring to your attention, sir, that Leon Trotsky considered in his great work, *The History of the Russian Revolution*, and in a sense it is relevant to us here in Canada—that the Russian revolution

The real view of socialists explained on range of issues

With this third instalment we complete Ross Dowson's testimony of this Spring before the Ontario Royal Commission of Inquiry into the Confidentiality of Health Records.

liberatory democratic objective of socialism, etc. Copies of the two previous instalments can be obtained by writing **Forward**, Box 778, Adelaide St. P.O., Toronto, Ont.

Dowson's testimony not only constituted a powerful indictment of the RCMP and its longstanding harassment of the trade union and socialist movements under the trumped-up allegation that they are "violence prone" and "subversive"—that is, "advocate social change by violent and undemocratic means." In the process it also witnessed top officers of the RCMP admitting that, in implementing a federal government "mandate" that legitimatized a campaign of "dirty tricks" designed to disrupt the labor and socialist movement, the RCMP actually committed acts of forgery and communicated false messages in violation of the Criminal Code of Canada, specifically Sections 324 and 330, which they are sworn to enforce.

Within the framework imposed by the inquiry Dowson also made a significant contribution to the clarification of socialist ideas on a wide range of matters: on the relationship of socialist formations to the mass movements of the working class, the trade unions and labor party formations such as the NDP, on the socialist aim to end class antagonisms and conflicts, on social revolution and violence, on the

Immediately upon the RCMP's admission that they had violated the Criminal Code, Dowson's lawyer, Harry Kopyto, appealed to Ontario Attorney-General Roy McMurtry to launch proceedings against the RCMP. Enquiries from the Ontario NDP parliamentary caucus have forced the attorney-general's office to issue an assurance that it will announce its decision on this matter before the end of September. The Canadian Civil Liberties Association, which had earlier demanded, on the basis of testimony before the McDonald Commission, that the RCMP be prosecuted for its violations of the Criminal Code, is watching this matter.

was a peaceful revolution. He comments extensively on the transition to power. I am not sure I have it absolutely correct in my memory but only five or six people were hurt or killed in the October revolution—in the actual transfer of power.

As a matter of fact, and this may be astonishing to you, sir, Lenin, the great revolutionary tactician and politician, considered that the Russian Revolution could be peaceful—could be peaceful. And he thought it was going to be peaceful. Even against a regime under which there was the utmost degradation of human beings—strikes were illegal, unions were illegal, parliamentary expression of popular views was suppressed and in general didn't exist.

Well, Lenin thought that this transition in Russia could come about by peaceful means and I'm now just trying to find a statement by Lenin—yes. On page one-forty-one. I am resorting to this text and not the original text of Lenin, because it's a big task and it would take too much time. Cannon, who I respect as a Leninist and who had no cause or purpose to say anything other than Lenin's real views, had this to

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say—he quotes Lenin and he quotes Trotsky. Let me just get the Lenin quote first, p. 141.

Well, without going into—oh, I marked it, did I? Yes! Without going into details maybe it would be too time-consuming to give you all of the quote.

For the convenience of our readers we reproduce the relevant quotation:

"On still another occasion, September 14-16, 1917. Offering a 'compromise' to the Social Revolutionary and Menshevik majority, Lenin proposed that they form an SR-Menshevik government responsible only to the Soviets. Such a government, he said, 'in all probability could secure a peaceful forward march of the whole Russian Revolution'. Should the proposition be accepted by the SR's and Mensheviks, then: 'No other condition, would, I think, be advanced by the Bolsheviks, who would be confident that really full freedom of propaganda and the immediate realization of a new democracy in the composition of the Soviets [new elections to them] and in their functioning would in themselves secure a peaceful forward movement of the revolution, a peaceful outcome of the party strike within the Soviets.'

"Perhaps this is already impossible? Perhaps. But if there is even one chance in a hundred, the attempt at realizing such a possibility would still be worthwhile" [Lenin, Collected Works Vol 21, Book 1, pp. 153-154].

"In this case, Lenin asked nothing more of the 'civil and military chiefs' among the 'ruling' petit-bourgeois democratic parties than that they take power and assure 'really full freedom of propaganda'. Returning to this question again on October 9, 1917, he wrote:

"Our business is to help do everything possible to secure the 'last' chance for a peaceful development of the revolution, to help this by presenting our programme, by making clear its general, national character, its absolute harmony with the interests and demands of an enormous majority of the population [p. 257]!"

Without going into details, in the course of the revolution a parallel institution developed in Russia—parallel institutions called Soviets. These were democratic institutions which were recognized by all of the democratic forces in the October revolution, and reluctantly recognized by reaction. They became the centre of discussion and policy—and not the parallel Provisional government.

With the development of this popular assembly, which was extremely responsive to the desires of the popular masses, both the workers in the armies, the workers in the factories, responsive to the rise and fall of the various contending political parties including Kerensky's Social Revolutionary party and the Bolsheviks, this very responsive body held open the possibility of a peaceful change. That was Lenin's conviction—that with the proper conduct by the Soviet government and open discussion of the problems, the majority would be won to the Bolshevik view.

I must say there was a debate among the Bolsheviks. It takes up a couple of chapters in *The History of the Russian Revolution*, whether they should wait for the congress of Soviets, the All-Russian Congress of Soviets. Or should the Bolshevik party with its great support among the vanguard elements of the October revolution move out independently. There was a debate between Lenin and Trotsky on this.

Trotsky said we should wait because we want the power legally. It's very important that it be established legitimately in the minds not only of the Russian people, but in the minds of the world's peoples, that this is a legitimate revolution and we should wait for the all-Russian Congress. This was a matter of debate.

Later there was also a debate as to whether they should proceed with the Constituent Assembly, which was a popularly elected body. I must tell you that they did wait. The Bolsheviks waited until the All-Russian congress of Soviets was held and the Bolsheviks turned out to have a majority and that majority issued in the transfer of power. The Czar had already been removed from this position of authority and we had in a sense a form of constitutional monarchy under Kerensky. The Czar was irrelevant. But you had also, this popular assembly which established its authority and we had this transition peacefully.

You mentioned Iran, Mister Kopyto. In my opinion, Iran, contrary to a few comments by Mister Riddell, was a remarkable affirmation of the peacefulness of this great social revolution. In my opinion there is a great social revolution taking place in Iran. We had a most oppressive regime under the Shah. This regime, it is common knowledge, has carried on a merciless assault on the most elementary of democratic rights and against those who tried to implement those democratic rights. The prisons of the Shah were full with the torn off limbs and organs of human beings. This regime had a secret police, a massive and powerful, all-pervasive institution, a ruthless one, and they



Preparing a long leash

also had a powerful elite army, an extremely elitist army. So what happened? I think it's a matter of historic record. This whole thing disappeared. I am not saying no one was killed in this struggle, but it collapsed. The transition was in effect a peaceful transition. That revolution is still in the process of developing, but I think it was a peaceful transition.

Anyway, that was the aim of the Bolsheviks and I know I am taking a lot of time and you want to get to lunch. I will not take it upon myself to read these parts. I will leave you a copy of *Socialism on Trial*, sir, and anybody who wants to read it will see that Lenin thought, that he conceived that the revolution in Russia was peaceful. That was their aim, that was what the Bolsheviks wanted to ensure, and in my opinion that's what they realized. And that's what I said in one of these documents that I read at this hearing. We visualize, as far as we are concerned, that we are going to be elected into office.

Socialists in parliamentary office

Now of course there have been socialist governments elected into office before. Someone referred to the Allende regime. The Allende regime went down in blood, including, tragically, Mister Allende's own blood.

Well, what happened there, in Chile? Mister Allende was elected into office. He carried out certain radical social changes. He was committed to further social change. Where did the violence come from and where the destruction? Regrettably it came about due to the fact that Mister Allende didn't prepare for what could only be conceived as inevitable attempts by the reactionaries to destroy his government—which had been democratically elected. So if you want to talk about violence, I don't want to relate it to the revolution—and I think it is correct, historically, not to relate it to the revolution. I think that's a lie and a smear and a degradation of the great social upheavals in our society which have opened up new roads for humanity. The word revolution is a very sacred concept in my opinion. Not just in the sense of a *revolutionary* car design or a *revolutionary* technology, but the very concept itself. It means fundamental changes opening up. As for the concept of the violence—I think that must be absolutely, certainly, ascribed to the counter-revolution. It is not the desire and the aim of the revolution.

I thought that the series of questions that the RCMP's lawyer addressed to Mister Riddell the other day had a certain logic which he drew to its full. He asked Mister Riddell about the coming revolution, and Mister Riddell predicted, Mr. Riddell was certain...

Kopyto. Mister, Dowson, I think that perhaps this line of questioning might arise in cross-examination...

Mr. Commissioner. I would like you to reconcile two statements you made. That, when you talked about revolution, that in revolution, in your sense, a complete change of a social system, the ruling class has never failed to resort to force, to resist the majority of the people who are desirous of bringing about the change. Did you not make that statement?

A. Yes. Could I clarify it? Yes, I made that statement.

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Mr. Commissioner. Could you reconcile that with the example of revolution which you and others have given, a very modern one, of Iran. It seemed to me that a decision was made after the Shah fled or left, by the army, that it would not use force against what it conceived to be the majority requiring a complete change of social system?

A. Yes.

Mr. Commissioner. Would you reconcile them, please?

A. Reconcile them? I don't see any contradiction. You see I would have added to the statement you attributed to me, which I didn't challenge because substantially it's correct, I would say—so far, I would add that qualification.

Mr. Commissioner. You mean until Iran?

A. Well, I don't know what's going to happen in Canada.

Mr. Commissioner. No, no.

It is apparent from the verbatim record that Mr. Dowson did not fully grasp the meaning of Commissioner Krever's question at this point and we have agreed to his request that he be permitted to make a short clarifying contribution for our readers. —The Editors

In Iran in late January, early February of this year the extremely repressive forces that had long sustained the Shah and his regime in power were not brought into action at the critical time against the revolutionary masses. This appears to contradict my statement to the effect that the ruling class never fails to resort to force to suppress the majority seeking a revolutionary change.

That statement should be qualified along the following lines—and in fact we might formulate a general law. The more united, the more militant, the clearer it is that the majority is prepared to carry its struggle forward to the very end, the less is the ruling class able to mobilize resistance and frustrate the popular will.

In Iran we had several weeks of mounting, ever-more militant demonstrations of massive proportions. These won over vast numbers of vacillating elements of the population, created broad disaffection in the ranks of the army and even in the elitist police itself, and brought the Shah and his entourage to the realization that they were completely isolated and had no possibility of resistance—and so they fled.

The converse of our "law" is also true. The less united, the less decisive, the weaker, the more vacillating the forces for social change, the more certain is the old ruling class to resort to naked suppression. Witness Germany 1933 and, of course, Chile.

The nature and scope of the violence that the old ruling class is able to bring into play against the mounting forces for social change is determined by the real relationship of class forces. The aim of the

socialists is not to substitute themselves for the working class but to increase the unity of the class, to sharpen its consciousness and raise its combativity so that it can implement its will. The greater the success of the socialists, the greater the possibility of a peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism.

A. You see, I would not answer your question like Mister Riddell did. One after another the RCMP questions—where the whole course of those questions—where Mister Riddell said yes, yes! The whole course of the questioning was that I would be committed to violence since I was certain, according to Mister Riddell he was certain that violence was inevitable. Mister Riddell affirmed it many, many times. (With this Dowson stood up in the witness stand and pointing challengingly to the lawyers for the RCMP, declared) I am telling you now. If I was certain that we could not realize socialism by the democratic means, I wouldn't bother with the NDP. As a matter of fact, I would think it would be my responsibility to go now and speak to the RCMP about the despicable elements that are going to suppress the democratic right of the people and I would ask them to do their duty as a police force that's presumably above class conflicts. I would ask them to do their duty and move against those forces.

That's what a responsible citizen would do. I am not convinced as Mister Riddell appeared to be that violence is absolutely inevitable. I think Mister Riddell did not speak in the tradition of Trotskyism or the tradition of Leninism. I think he felt harassed by the RCMP questioner and he made statements which are not qualified and properly explanatory. I would add that so far, and Iran in my opinion is a great vindication of the democratic method. Now it wasn't the democratic method which is expressed by democratic parliamentary means because there was no such vehicle, no such form. I was inspired about that, and it was something I look forward to.

Mr. Commissioner. It's hardly a Marxist revolution, is it?

A. The Marxists involved themselves in it, I hope. I wasn't there, but if I were there I would be right out in front supporting the whole movement as it moved forward, at that time under the leadership of Khomeini, a Moslem mystic. I would have still supported that, and you can see my view expressed in *Forward* for we identify ourselves with that revolution. We consider it was going to go on and beyond that, but we supported it as far as it went, and we didn't say we won't support it unless it does so and so. We laid no conditions down to its course of development. I would have been in the front lines if I were an Iranian and young enough, I would identify myself completely with them.

Thanked for 'enlightening discussion'

Mr. Commissioner. Mister Dowson, thank you very much and particularly, I haven't heard such an enlightening discussion of Marxism for perhaps twenty-five, thirty years. But I particularly want to express my gratitude to you for bringing to our attention, to the attention of the Commission the letters which have been the subject of the hearings for the last few days.

A. Thank you very much, sir.

Mr. Sharpe. Mister Commissioner, I believe that's the end of the evidence.

09-10-4

Oh Canada

By Paul Kane

When the line-up of U.S. presidential aspirants responded in chorus to the concern of their constituents about the U.S. energy crisis, that they would solve it with a Canada-Mexico continental energy pact—even a common market and possibly free trade—Canada's new Tory Energy Minister Hnatyshyn said quite naturally for public consumption—"NO." He added softly, "not at this time." On the Canadian end almost the entire energy infrastructure for the extension of the takeover is already in place and working—in the fact of the giant U.S. oil moguls' ownership and control of the country's oil and petro-chemical resources.

As for free trade, with the recent Geneva GATT agreement, according to the chairman of the former Liberal government's committee that co-ordinated the negotiations, "we came as close as we could at this stage to free trade." By 1988 nearly 80% of all Canada-U.S. trade will be completely free.

According to confidential information now released to a *Macleans* analyst, back in 1948 the Liberal government had all but consummated such a deal, but got cold feet. The then PM King recorded in his diary, "I don't think this matter should be brought before the public at this time ... it would be a terrible mistake and defeat its very end."

Despairing of the boss party machinations, chairman of the Committee for an Independent Canada, Max Saltsman, has cried out, "We are simply drifting into a client state status with the U.S. ... let's not drift into becoming a part of the U.S. under an economic disguise without any discussion at all—the way we are doing now."

The giant North Dakota Garrison irrigation project, despite the fact that authorities on both sides of the border protest that it threatens irreparable damage to Manitoba fishing and agriculture and in fact the entire Hudson Bay watershed, has taken another ominous step forward. A report by the International Joint Commission over two years ago expressed alarm; nonetheless millions of dollars have been spent by U.S. state and federal authorities in irrigation structures in central North Dakota. When the National Audubon Society failed last month to obtain a court order from a U.S. District Court U.S. authorities moved ahead to raise gates on Lake Audubon to let water into the McCluskey Canal as a test of a fish screen supposed to protect Canadian waters from foreign fish species.

The structurally underdeveloped nature of the Canadian economy, its dependent and largely branch-plant character determined by extensive U.S. corporate ownership, and the increasing high cost of this to the working class are revealed in recent statistics from Ottawa.

By July the stagnation of the world capitalist economy had cut Canada's trade surplus down to \$970 million—about one half the surplus registered in the first six months of 1978. Not only did exports decline precipitously but they shifted drastically in their composition from finished products to raw materials, affirming that Canadians remain locked into the role of hewers of wood and drawers of water. Foreign sales of metal ores and concentrates, crude petroleum and natural gas increased by 81% for the year ended July 31. The main source of this trend remains the U.S. which traditionally absorbs about 70% of Canadian exports.

Even if the year-end's trade surplus meets Finance Minister Crosbie's estimated 2.1 billion mark—down from last year's 3.5 billion surplus—Canada's foreign debts from dividend payments going out to non-Canadian shareholders in companies here, rising interest and service payments to foreign banks, will put Canada about \$6 billion in the red.

The current account deficit at the mid-year stood at 3.5 billion, the largest ever registered, due to the cost of foreign ownership which continues to grow. Service payments to non-Canadians, engineers and consultants' fees, payments for franchises and trade marks, increased from 2.7 to 3.3 billion at the half-year mark. Interest to banks, dividend payments to foreign shareholders, rose from \$2.4 billion to \$2.9 billion.

Last year's interest payments on the country's accumulating debts amounted to 16.4% of all federal government spending—larger than the 12.4% spent on payments to the aged and the 6.6% spent on health care. This mid-year's deficit, which now stands 60% higher than last mid-year's current account deficit, will no doubt see Ottawa, rather than scale down the 8.6% that went into military expenditures, attempt further cutbacks in social services.

This month when the Canadian Admiral Corporation in Port Credit, 99% owned by Pittsburgh-based Rockwell International, phases out its television production, 300 members of Local 545 International Union of Radio & Machine Workers will lose their jobs. Earlier this year Canadian General Electric closed its Toronto Ward Street plant, wiping out the jobs of 180 members of the United Electrical Workers Union.

To this ongoing process of U.S.-owned branch plant closures and scale-backs from manufacturing to warehousing and distributing that has been widening over the past year has been added another phenomenon—runaway plants. Square D, Westinghouse and other corporations are divesting themselves of long established plants in urban industrial centres, along with their unionized work force, and setting up new operations in more rural areas through the province and where there are few unionized work forces. These actions are creating economic and psychological havoc for many families, communities and the workers themselves who are being thrown onto the scrap heap to join the ranks of the unemployed.

The United Electrical Workers union which is bearing the brunt of the runaways is challenging the government to act, and threatening legal suits for violation of the Labor Relations Act and common law. It is hard to conceive that the courts can be used to block runaways and so far there has been no talk of on-the-job actions, sit-ins or mass actions of any type.

Letter to the CLC On Nuclear Safety

TO: The National Executive Committee of the Canadian Labor Congress:

Concerned with a guaranteed and uninterrupted supply of energy to keep the wheels of industry turning, major industries in Canada are backing the development of greater and costlier nuclear reactors. This desire to diversify industrial energy supply has been enthusiastically endorsed by governments at all levels.

But despite the greater danger in nuclear power production, government and Big Business have shown the same lack of concern for safety as they have in the areas of coal, iron ore or steel production. Driven by the desire for uninterrupted profit U.S.-dominated corporate interests have committed Canada to a massive and costly program of nuclear projects, largely financed from the public treasury, without solving the problem of disposal of deadly radioactive waste by-products, without assessing environmental factors, without safe and modern reactor designs, without sufficient maintenance and adequately tested emergency backup systems, without proper facilities for technical training and with the use of technology and materials in cooling systems that are often inferior or outmoded.

The labor movement has a special

responsibility to ensure that the workers in these projects and communities surrounding them are properly safe-guarded. Those organized workers who stand in the front line of the danger—those who daily enter the reactors and who risk exposure, those who are most directly involved in the operation and control of the production of nuclear power, have seldom been consulted nor have their views been implemented even when expressed in strong terms. Those who have vested interests in maintaining unregulated and inadequately supervised nuclear power production have not hesitated to proliferate lies and half-truths. They have abdicated their responsibility in assuring that life and limb comes before profit. They have proven unable to establish proper surveillance, a reorganization of priorities and an orderly approach to dealing with the generating problems which have resulted in so many operational cut-downs.

The transfer of control over daily operational decisions from the bosses who are under pressure to nuclearize at full speed to the workers who know the problems firsthand offers the only realistic possibility for safe nuclear power production.

The labor movement must enter the nuclear power debate loudly and

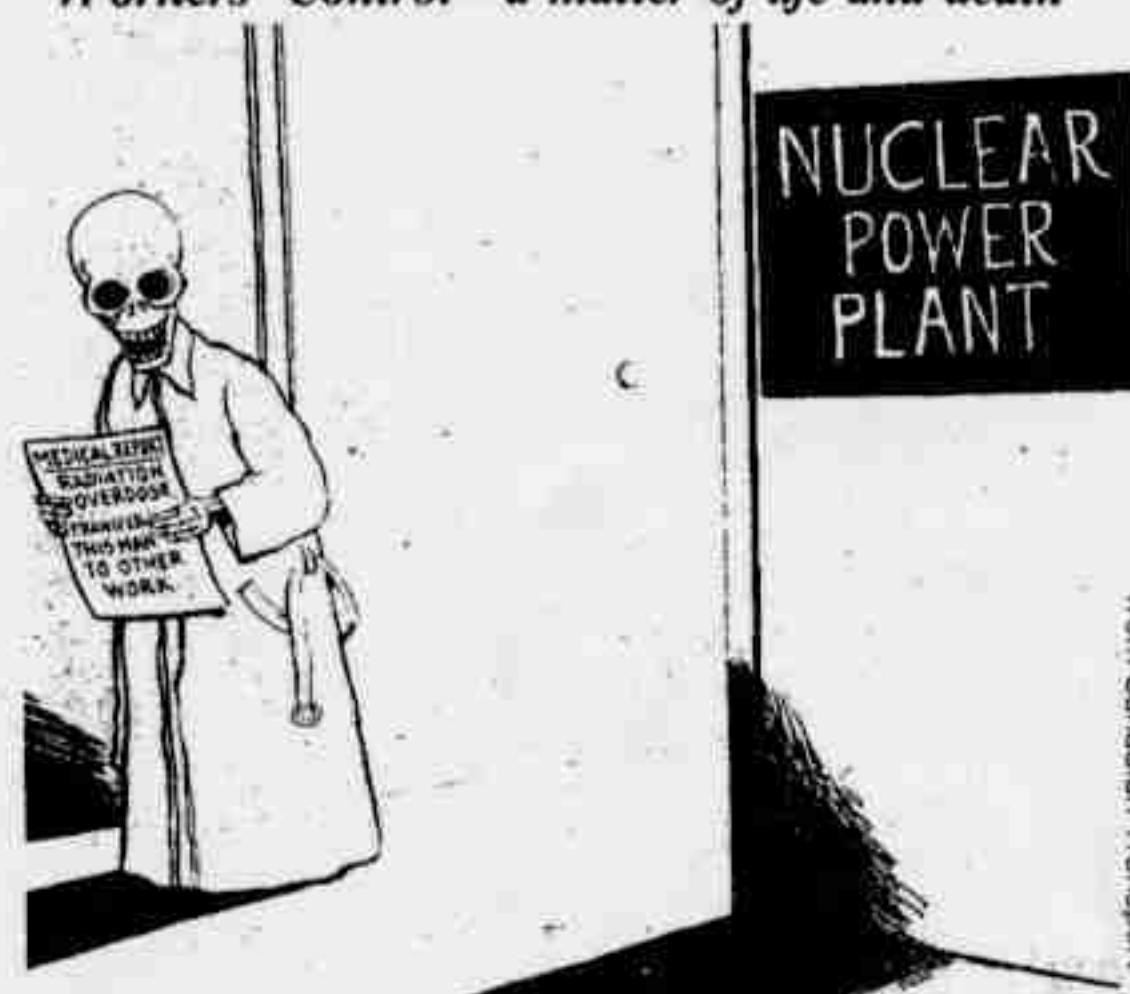
clearly and bring the weight of its hundreds of thousands of members to bear upon the issues. Specifically, those sectors of the organized trade union movement involved in the operation of nuclear installations should be asked to set up councils composed of representatives from the various unions which will be able to rely upon their members' individual expertise in recommending the conditions of operation of the various projects. Such councils could develop programs and establish guidelines for operating existing projects and establish clear criteria for shutdowns in the event of potential danger.

With the weight of the Canadian Labor Congress behind such recommendations, the population as a whole could be galvanized to challenge the profit-oriented experts who are now pushing for nuclearization at all costs. The CLC should insist upon giving such councils the power to implement their recommendations directly.

The challenge before the labor movement, in other words, is to call for nothing short of direct control by workers over nuclear power installations. Though innovative, this demand is neither academic nor primarily a matter of ideology: it is a matter of life and death.

by the Editors

Workers' Control—a matter of life and death



ON THE LINE



by P. Kent

Ferment in BC woods

Although the west coast lumber bosses' master agreement, touted as the biggest offer ever, was ratified last July by a majority of the membership of the big two CLC affiliates—the International Woodworkers of America and the Canadian Paperworkers Union—a settlement is only now, after two months of militant upheavals, being worked out.

The IWA, with 30,000 members on the coast and 7,500 in the southern interior, voted by 70% for acceptance. The leadership of the Canadian Paperworkers Union refused to recommend acceptance or rejection until local issues at two mills in MacKenzie were settled, although its 7,500 members voted to accept by an 82% margin. The 5,500 member independent Pulp and Paper Workers of Canada narrowly rejected the offer by 51.6%. The PPW leadership urged rejection, as President Angus MacPhee explained, because the offer failed to provide cost-of-living protection, adequate improvements on retirement pensions, time-off and overtime banking provisions, contracting out, and a number of issues to be resolved at local mill levels.

PPW pickets from MacMillan Bloedel's Harmac mill in Nanaimo appeared at the company's operations in Nanaimo, Crofton and Powell River, pulling 11,000 off the job.

The BC Labor Relations Board ordered PPW pickets to leave MacMillan Bloedel's Vancouver plywood, particle board and Canadian White Pine divisions—while dissident IWA members set up their own picket lines—and later ordered PPW pickets to leave MacMillan Bloedel mills at Port Alberni and Powell River.

On August 11 tradesmen of all three unions organized in the BC Forest Industry Tradesmen's Association, claiming 5,000 members, walked off the job for a 24-hour study session to press demands for high wage revisions.

Some 700 Prince Rupert members of Local 4 PPW walked out of Canadian Cellulose's pulp mill, after having returned for eight days following a 28-day strike over the operation of an employee's activity fund. PPW pickets pulled 1,700 workers off the job at Cellulose's Castlegar mill.

Only by September 6 was the two-week-old strike that closed MacMillan Bloedel's Harmac mill at Nanaimo ended by an agreement on local issues, including how to handle pulp produced by supervising staff during the previous strike. The PPW local has not yet agreed to the wage settlement accepted in August by the other unions.

Labor needs own voice

It is not bad enough that the 3.3 million strong Canadian unionists and their supporters have no daily or weekly newspaper of their own circulating either nationally or in any one of the three or so areas where rapid and timely distribution could be assured. Several golden opportunities to launch a labor paper have been missed in recent years. The Toronto *Telegram*, whose demise threw hundreds of skilled newspaperworkers onto the street, could have been picked up very cheaply. And the Vancouver strike paper which was so successful just a few months ago, instead of being dropped could have been established as an effective voice of the working people in the lower mainland.

But it is surely a scandal that the last CLC executive council seriously entertained representations by, among others, Neville Hamilton, director of public relations of the Canadian Paperworkers Union, to support the magazine *Report*, formerly *Report on Confederation*. CLC President McDermott even sent a circular-letter to council members and representatives of other affiliates suggesting direct financial contributions of \$1,000 and consideration of

bulk purchases "for educational purposes."

Report, calling itself "the magazine of public affairs," displayed right up front with the slickies on major newsstands can by no stretch of the imagination be considered to express views even sympathetic to labor's cause or any aspect of it. Its list of contributors is a veritable who's who of editorial board writers for the major Big Business journals across the country.

While it has dropped "on confederation" from its masthead, its chief efforts remain the prettifying of confederation which is now being challenged on all fronts by the Québécois, the Native Peoples, and the working people of the various regions that have been deprived of economic development by U.S.-Canadian monopoly capitalist exploitation.

In any balance sheet of the CLC's campaign behind the NDP in the recent election or in any analysis of the impact of Big Business' drive for cutbacks in social services, labor's inability to effectively make its case through the mass media cannot help but loom large. Canadian labor needs an effective voice of its own.

Last chance to kick in your share

As we draw the Forward Fund Drive to a close, our donations register \$3,500.00 of our \$5,000.00 goal. And we make one last appeal to supporters, after the summer hiatus, to contribute to the fund drive.

Forward is now in its fifth year of publishing. Throughout its last five years it has played a singular role in expressing the Marxist viewpoint within the NDP, the mass political expression of the Canadian working class movement, and in general across Canada on behalf of militants and socialists.

With as yet no new organized voice of the left presenting itself within the NDP, **Forward** still remains the only source of news, views, and contact among the disparate elements making up the NDP left. We need your help to keep it coming out

so we can continue to make it available to anyone and everyone who wants to utilize it for promoting socialism.

We must continue to meet all the routine costs of setting it, laying it out and printing it which continue to mount because of inflation. And we need your special help to overcome what the Canadian trade union press has condemned as a new "form of covert censorship" — continual mounting postal costs. As you have probably noted, your single third class copy now comes to you with 15 cents worth of stamps on it—and our bundles going to persons who help us circulate it on a broader scale have gone up much more.

As the Canadian Association of Labour Media, representing 60 trade union publications, noted just prior

to last April's mailing rate increase, "mailing costs are to a point when the future of our publications are in jeopardy." The April increase went through, and now "going metric" has added on another increase. Noting that third class mail is the only category which the government has ruled must pay for itself—all other categories are heavily subsidized from the public treasury—CALM observes that within the two year period prior to April, bulk rates increased by 50%. **Forward** is compelled to operate under third class rates because our press run is so many more times than our subscriber base, necessarily so as we must use **Forward** to intervene in the continually new expressions and forces of radicalization with mass distributions such as at the anti-Darlington nuclear power site, anti-cutback demonstrations, etc.

CALM sees the postal increases as bringing "us closer to the loss of a vital labour press." **Forward** is not going under—by any means—but it needs your help. With your help we will continue and, we hope, will improve **Forward**. Our goal this year is once again \$5,000, not that we do not need more—but that is a good foundation upon which we can build to meet the challenges of the coming year. Send your cheque or money order to **Forward Fund Drive**, Box 778, Adelaide St. P.O., Toronto, MSC 2K1—postdated cheques are quite acceptable. And while you are at it tell us what you think of the paper—what we are doing right and what we are doing wrong—and how we can improve.

"Masters In Our Own House"

by Wayne Roberts

This convention of the NDP meets at a time when the constitutional basis of the country is being challenged from every direction.

It is a humiliating situation. Although it has not been recorded in the BNA Act, Canada has lost its economic sovereignty to U.S. multinationals, and its military sovereignty to U.S.-dominated alliances like NATO/NORAD. It is recorded in the BNA Act that the provincial premiers and federal prime ministers cannot even get together to bring the constitution home. It is also on record that provinces and the federal government can't come to agreement on a pressing issue like the division of resource revenues.

In the midst of this disintegration, and to protect themselves from bearing the brunt of this disintegration, the Native People and Dene are demanding their constitutional rights as a founding people. And while Clark fiddles with Lougheed, the countdown is near on the Quebec referendum for sovereignty association. As all observers admit, the sovereignty option is gaining ground. Even if it loses, the Quebec question will not be settled, since Claude Ryan, the great white hope of the federalists has also served notice of demands for major constitutional revision.

How well has the NDP responded to this multi-leveled crisis? What has it done to turn this crisis into a challenge and opportunity for Canada's working people?

Judging from the number of resolutions on federal-provincial relations that have been submitted to this convention, New Democrats from across

...Resolution...

WHEREAS the NDP has long recognized that the people of Quebec constitute a nation; and

WHEREAS various federalist efforts at language, cultural and constitutional reform have failed to satisfy the nationalist aspirations of the most dynamic elements of Quebec society; and

WHEREAS the people of Quebec will be deciding on their constitutional options in a forthcoming referendum,

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the NDP state in advance its willingness to recognize the complete right to self-determination of Quebec, and its willingness to negotiate sovereignty association if that be the will of the Quebecois.

Spadina NDP

the country are taking their responsibility seriously. Judging from the content of these resolutions, many New Democrats are questioning the positions being taken by NDP public spokesmen.

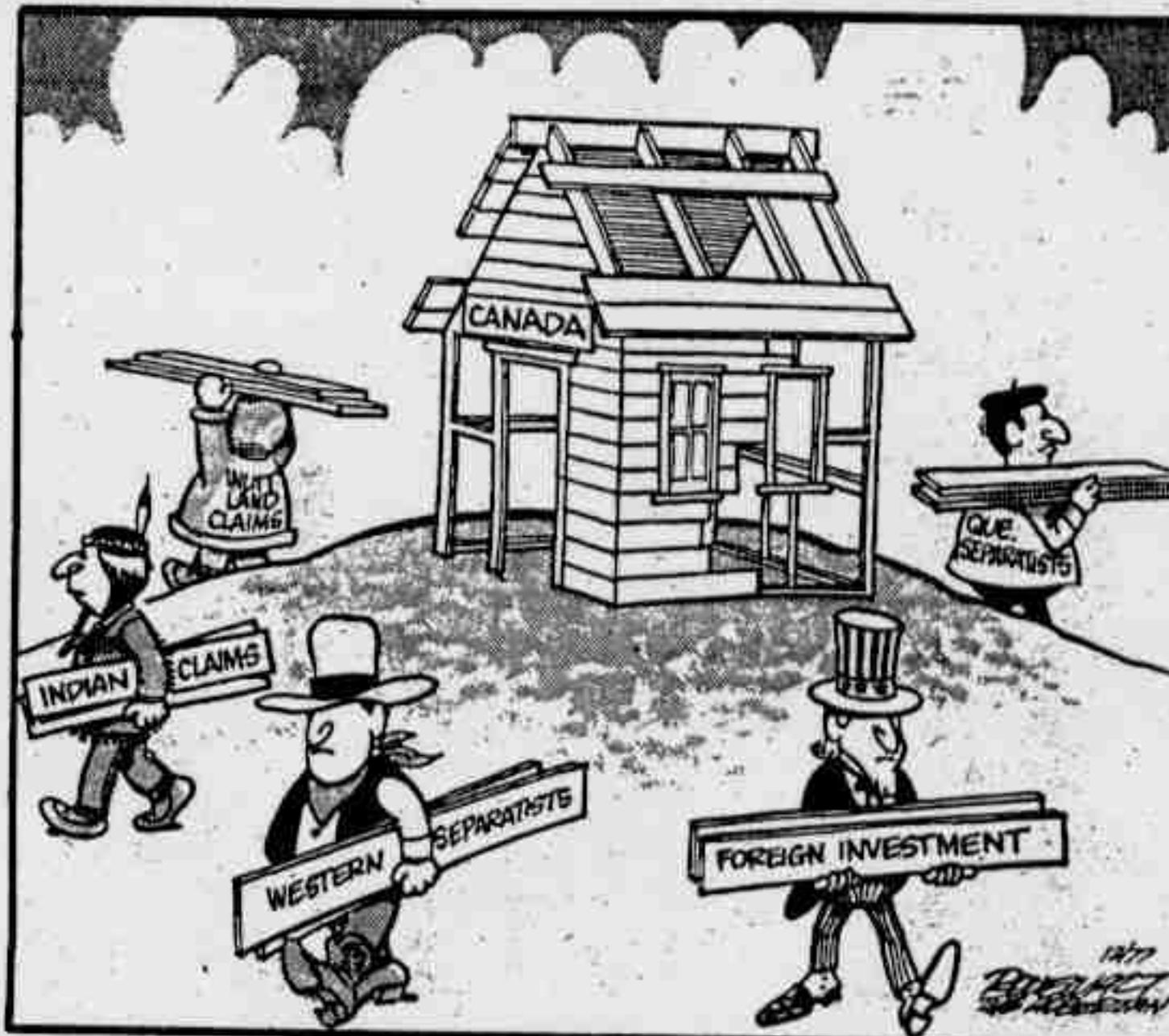
Quite frankly, the contributors to this NDP convention discussion paper are disappointed with the response of NDP leaders. We believe, furthermore, that the NDP must rethink its positions on Quebec and Canada's constitutional future in a fundamental way. This tabloid is an attempt, by a group of otherwise politically unrelated party members and supporters (including one person who is a very severe critic), to lay the basis for the kind of discussion the NDP needs to have if we are to resolve the issues carefully, democratically, and in the interests of party development and growth. It is not overstating the case to say that without a correct position on Quebec, the party will never develop a base in Quebec or be able to offer leadership to the people of Canada.

When Stephen Lewis was leader of the Ontario party, he spoke to a provincial council meeting about the problems facing a pro-federalist politician. "Clamouring for unity is easy. Speaking in wholesome generalities about anything is something that any politician can do at any time. In present circumstances, however, all of that seems somewhat irrelevant."

To get to the relevant issues, we must first start by recognizing, as did the founding and the 1972 conventions of the party, that Quebec is not just a province, but a nation. Its people share not only a territory, but a common language, culture and heritage. The sense of nationalism which these people share is not, as Pierre Trudeau insists, a racialist crime against humanity. Rather, as Ed Broadbent argued during the televised election debate, it is a positive spirit. In fact, Broadbent roused audiences across the country by echoing the stirring slogan of Quebec nationalists during the 1960s. We want to be "masters in our own house," Broadbent argued, in motivating his industrial strategy for Canadian economic sovereignty.

Secondly, the people of Quebec are not only a nation, but an oppressed nation. Quebecers, along with everyone else, were denied a referendum when they were first brought into Confederation. Lacking the national power to express their national aspirations, locked into a state which subjects them to the will of others in questions of eco-

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Canadians and Québécois will always be countrymen

by Skip Hamblin

These are the times that try men's souls: The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will, in this crisis, shrink from the service of his country; but he stands it now, deserves the love and thanks of man and woman.

Those words, written by Thomas Paine in the midst of the American war for independence from Britain, are credited with stiffening the resolve of the American patriots in the darkest moment of their fight for sovereign nationhood.

Irony notwithstanding, these American words seem perfectly suited to the festering question of Canadian nationhood as the Parti Québécois launches its formal campaign to separate in some manner the province of Quebec from the rest of Canada.

There are at least two reasons to find Paine's words attractive today: one factual, the other emotional.

It is a fact that these are the times in Canada that do "try men's souls." What Canada needs now is neither summer soldiers nor sunshine patriots.

What Canada needs is people struck with the vision and honest emotion caught in Paine's words. We have had enough of mean-mindedness and the doctrine of the scholar and technocrat. We need to catch the spirit of a nation. And we need to understand and allow others that same spirit.

If the citizens of Quebec decide now their destiny does not lie in union with Canada, by what right do we deny them that vision? By how much do we betray our own mean natures and feeble belief in our own nationhood by seeing their separation as prologue to our necessary decline?

Conversely, by how much do we esteem ourselves to acknowledge in fact a people's right to self-determination, to accept some reworking of our Canadian confederation, up to and including the separation of Quebec?

These questions take on heightened

significance for democratic socialists.

As democrats, the right of a people to freely decide their own destiny must remain inalienable.

As socialists, a Canada separated from Quebec only moves the socialist imperative along. In a reworked Canada the need for us to fully control our economic and social destiny will become unrelenting. The social democratic alternative will become irresistible.

But all the hair pulling and gnashing of teeth over this matter is really beside the point. No one yet has confronted the chilling question of what Canada is to do if and when we force Quebec to present us with a unilateral declaration of independence.

Would we invade Quebec with our army? Are we ready to occupy a territory and hold people by force who we cannot win over through negotiation and compromise? And if we were to move to that extremity, what would we have gained having lost the hearts and minds of the people there?

The reality is that there is no choice. Practically and morally, there is no way to hold Quebec should they decide to go.

Canada will exist, with or without political union with Quebec. Canada, any true nation, is first and last a state of mind where borders, geography, distance are of no real consequence. And a nation that does not live in the hearts and minds of her people will not survive despite all the documents and paper covenants on earth.

"My country is not a country; it's the winter. My garden is not a garden; it's the plain. My road isn't a road; it's the snow." Gilles Vigneault, a Québécois wrote these words.

He and I will always be countrymen, regardless of what the atlas says.

[Skip Hamblin is the editor of the Saskatchewan NDP's Common Wealth.]



Will we let these men decide Canada's future?

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Shake off narrow federalism

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nomic, immigration and foreign policy and some areas of educational and cultural policy, the desires of Quebecers have been thwarted on too many occasions.

Think of the hanging of Riel, of the Boer War, of World War I, World War II. Think of the air traffic controllers' strike (on which the NDP caucus later admitted that it took a regrettable position). For all the talk of French being "jammed down our throats", think of the fact that right now the Ontario government is denying the French Canadians of Penetanguishene their own school.

There are reasons why Quebecers, and Quebecers who might normally

nized that the abstract rights to form unions and be recognized mean very little unless employers are also required to bargain in good faith. In this context, the NDP sounds like the employers who says: if you don't like it here, and insist on forming your own union, then you can quit, because you'll get nothing from me.

Contributors to this tabloid favor a position of recognizing Quebec's right to self-determination, and of allowing the exercise of that right by our willingness to negotiate terms if there is a "yes" outcome to the referendum. Judging from the resolutions submitted to the convention by riding associations, there would appear to be two alternatives. The first, coming from

bec's right to self-determination is concerned. Over and above the economic improvements that an NDP government will bring, national differences will remain. Saskatchewan premier Blakeney, in a 1976 address to the Atlantic Provinces Economic Council even suggested that regional friction will remain: "Neither the Atlantic regions nor the West can expect the federal government—whatever its political stripe (my emphasis)—to take the initiative in introducing basic structural reforms that are needed to encourage more balanced regional development," he said. Why should Quebec, which is so much more than a region, lose its sense of distinct nationality?

And, it must be said, the NDP does not have the kind of record that would lead Quebecers to have faith in social democratic federalism, as distinct from liberal or conservative federalism. Pierre Bastien, the pro-federalist and anti-PQ vice-president of the Quebec NDP, told a Manitoba NDP conference in 1977 that "for most of the people in Quebec, the NDP is the same as the Conservatives." He charged that the federal party "always acts without us, even when we're really involved. They always do what we don't want."

So, if we want to talk about working class unity and socialism, then it is time for English-speaking NDPers to "shake off the shackles of a narrow" federalism, and realize that working class unity can only be based on mutual respect and equality. As one indication, in 1974 the Canadian Labour Congress finally recognized the autonomy of the Quebec Federation of Labour, at the same convention which called for increased autonomy of all Canadian unions from U.S. headquarters. The Quebec decision was seen as the only solution to the need of Quebec workers for both unity and independence.

A second alternative to the course we are urging comes from the Quebec Provincial Council, which argues a new constitution with all sorts of new clauses recognizing minority and social rights. Alas, this is too little, too late. It can be a deceptive excuse for failing to deal with the reality of the upcoming referendum. It is, as they say, a cop-out, because it assumes and binds Quebec's future in Confederation.

In 1970, the NDP stood firm in its support of civil liberties of Quebecers and all Canadians, at a time when the media and politicians of English Canada were hysterically promoting the

St. Catharines, "invites" Quebecers "to shake off the shackles of a narrow nationalism and join with the NDP in building a socialist Canada..." Doesn't this contain a powerful dose of arrogance by placing the entire onus of change on the people of Quebec? What else can it be but an illustration of the vulgar economic determinism and colonizer mentality that underly current NDP policy. Would any self-respecting member of the British Labour Party have asked Canadians to "hang tough" in the Empire until the Labour Party won the British elections, rather than fight for Canadian autonomy, as did J.S. Woodsworth and other socialists of the 1920s?

Socialism is just a "red herring" style of oneupmanship as far as Que-

...Resolution...

WHEREAS even at our founding convention the NDP recognized that Canadian Confederation was established by two nations—the French Canadian nation and the English Canadian nation—and that the French Canadians constitute a nation with a national identity and a national culture and frequently and legitimately use the word nation to describe French Canada itself; and

WHEREAS the ensuing years have witnessed an increasing perception on the part of the people of Quebec that they do constitute a nation and increasing efforts to win recognition of that fact, with all such propositions as bi-culturalism, bi-lingualism, special status and a renegotiated federalism failing to meet their aspirations; and

WHEREAS the projected refer-

...Resolution...

endum on sovereignty-association will be an occasion for the people of Quebec to declare their view to all,

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the NDP make it crystal clear that it stands firmly on the elementary democratic principle of the right of all nations to self-determination,

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that this commitment on the part of the NDP includes recognition of the Quebec people's right to establish a sovereign Quebec, should they decide to do so, and that we as a party in office on the provincial or federal plane are committed in advance to negotiate, to work towards the establishment of a new association which will be acceptable to both parties.

Rosedale NDP



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Demonstration protesting conscription in Quebec in 1944. As on other occasions the decision of Quebecers was rejected by English Canada.

be expected to be in the forefront of the NDP, have come to see their province as the only agency to protect their national aspirations. Who can argue that Confederation is a mechanism to foster and nurture these rights? Roy Romanow, a Saskatchewan NDP cabinet minister, told the painful truth to the travelling Unity Task Force last year. "Culturally, English Canada is a conquered nation. Take away U.S. television, radio, periodicals, books and films and there are only a few kernels left." Confederation, he stated, does not make much sense "to a man in Quebec who can look across the provincial border and see an Americanized version of Canada."

Once we accept the facts that Quebec is a nation and an oppressed nation, we come to the third point. Those calling themselves democrats, not to mention democratic socialists, have the obligation to champion the rights of nations to self-determination. We may not be happy with the results, just as we are not always happy with the results of free speech or free elections, but we unconditionally support these rights because we are confident that the truth will ultimately triumph.

By joining in, and sometimes leading the chorus of bullying Liberals and Tories who refuse in advance to negotiate terms with a sovereign Quebec, NDP leaders come dangerously close to denying Quebec's right to self-determination. Our NDP leaders state in advance that they will not accept the outcome of the Quebec referendum, which specifies an "equal-to-equal" relationship of association. At best, our party's acceptance of the right to self-determination is abstract. Certainly it does not conform to the relations we demand in industry. In the union movement, it has long been recog-

"Rocket" Richard supports French language rights. Shortly after, the PQ was elected.

War Measures Act. It turned out to be one of the finest hours of the NDP, and a course vindicated by history. It is time for a repeat performance of the courage and foresight shown in 1970.

Quebecers will not be splitting the country if they vote for sovereignty association. Nor will we in the NDP be splitting the country if we accept their right to self-determination and agree to negotiate an associational relationship. The blame for splitting the country rests entirely with the Liberals and Tories, and their friends in the continentalist business class. It is only the Quebecers, the Dene, Native People and us who can lay the basis for a new Canada, based on working-class unity and free national association.

[Wayne Roberts, an alternate from Spadina, lectures at McMaster University, and is associated with the newspaper Forward]

...Resolution...

WHEREAS Canada was created by two founding nations; and

WHEREAS Quebec has all the attributes of a nation—a common language, territory, culture, tradition and a profound sense of national identity; and

WHEREAS French Canadian Nationalism is an authentic response to 400 years of social, political, cultural and economic domination by both an English-Canadian elite and multinational corporations; and

WHEREAS recognition of the right of the people of Quebec to national self-determination has nothing to do with our support or opposition to the goals of the separatist movement; and

WHEREAS the NDP does not wish to utilize forms of political and economic blackmail over Quebec or to arbitrarily dismiss alternatives to the present arrangements between Quebec and English-Canada,

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the NDP, while asserting its belief that the people of Quebec can achieve their social, cultural and economic goals within a restructured federal system, nonetheless declares that Quebec has the absolute right of self-determination as a nation up to and including independence, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the NDP be willing to negotiate alternative versions of confederation up to and including sovereignty-association.

Nickle Belt NDP

Socialism Via Association

by Henry Milner

Like many Quebecers, I favour a politically sovereign Quebec linked in an economic association with Canada, and intend to vote yes in the upcoming referendum. I do so because I'm honestly convinced that the aspirations of the mass of the people of Québec will be best served in this manner and that the retention of federalism, 'renewed' or otherwise, will continue to frustrate these aspirations, and in so doing impede the movement toward democratic socialism not only in Québec but in Canada as well.

For the great majority of democratic socialists in Québec, the NDP's position of federalism combined with social democracy makes no sense. Let us look for a moment at a concrete example of how, as far as Québec is concerned, federalism is an obstacle to democratic socialism. The Québec Government was elected with a mandate to move toward nationalization in the asbestos industry: an industry characterized by unhealthy and unsafe working conditions and one which sees Québec workers extracting a valuable natural resource which their American employer then ships out of the country for processing. Close to two years ago, it offered to buy the Asbestos Corporation, second largest of asbestos producers, from its owner, General Dynamics of the U.S. General Dynamics refused, by insisting on a price higher than twice the market rate, and since then has used its resources to frustrate Québec's attempts at nationalizing the company (with compensation based on third party assessment). Asbestos Corporation has attempted to exploit every weakness in Québec's constitutional position, going so far as to claim in court that the people of Québec acted 'illegally' in passing the nationalization bill only in the national language, French.

Asbestos Corp. will probably be nationalized in the end, but its real cost should be measured not in dollars but in the degree to which it has combined with other such cases to erode the determination of the people of Québec to move toward transforming their economic system. And those Quebecers committed to these transformations have learned from just such bitter experiences the futility of working for real socio-economic change in Québec within the constraints of federalism.

Why is NDP weak?

It is no coincidence that the New Democratic Party is weaker in Québec today than in the past, when it was possible to point to a religion-based conservatism among French Canadians to explain its weakness.

The facts are quite straightforward; one had only to observe the silly and futile spectacle of the last two federal-provincial constitutional conferences to see the situation graphically portrayed. Among Canada's ten provinces is one—Québec—with the history, culture, population, geography, resources: in short all the prerequisites of a distinct national community. The Canadian constitution does not and cannot recognize this. It recognizes only prov-



The Parti Québécois was elected in 1976, with a base similar to that of the NDP, in other provinces. Henry Milner explains why.

inces. Hence a built-in problem: If all the provinces are to be accorded the same status and powers as the one that constitutes a national community in its own right, then what's to be left for the central government which is there to unify and promote the interests of the Canadian national community?

Twenty years ago it was possible to operate under these conditions because Québec was predominantly a static, inward-looking society. A compromise was in place which satisfied no-one, but seldom dissatisfied either Quebecers or Canadians elsewhere enough to do more than grumble. This is no longer the case. Now, as Quebecers are becoming increasingly concerned with building a society that meets their long term social, economic and cultural goals, they invariably find the system wanting.

And being a national community, Quebecers naturally and inevitably turn to their own political institutions for solutions. So Canadian federalism has been pushed hard by all Québec governments in recent years seeking to enable that one province to become 'master in its own house'. And of course, the additional provincial powers granted in the interval have been insufficient to satisfy Québec's needs.

Canadians in the other provinces have generally regarded the constitutional squabble that emerged as a spectacle which affects them but does not involve them. Their provincial leaders usually take advantage of the situation to build up the powers of their own province—and who can argue with that. Only it does leave ordinary Canadians with the feeling that something's missing. As Ed Broadbent himself put it during the 'great debate' before the election: What Canadians need is an attachment to Canada, just like Quebecers' attachment to Québec.

The problem is that while Quebecers have Québec, Canadians have nothing around which to focus the desire to be part of a national community and through which to unite to build the economic and social institutions needed. The federal government has understandably failed to serve in this capacity. It has failed mainly because, to the frustration of many Canadians, it seemed not to be theirs.

One might hope that now—with the Tories in power—this might change; but it won't. Clark's 'solution' is to give even greater powers to the provinces. This might seem surprising, but it isn't really. Those who want to retard change, to retain and enhance the power of vested interests, have always

found it most useful to weaken governments, to artificially divide people and thereby to frustrate popular movements and reforms.

So the mantle falls on the NDP, and rightly so. It is only the New Democrats as both democratic socialists and Canadian nationalists to whom the Canadian people can turn for farsighted leadership at this time. It is the NDP that must focus and mobilize the long term collective interests of the mass of Canadians in the face of the challenge posed by the Québec referendum. There will be much pressure to take the easy opportunistic way, to 'stand up for Canada', by clamping down on Québec. But in the long term that will hurt Canada (and the NDP) more than Québec. The NDP must say loudly and clearly that attacking Québec or refusing to face the issue is precisely the worst way to stand up for Canada.

So far the NDP's record has been pathetic. The public posture has been: "solve Québec's economic problems and independentism will go away"—patent nonsense if it's meant to have us believe that there's any relationship between Québec's desire for self-determination and the unemployment or inflation index. Insofar as it means that what Quebecers really need and want is not just cultural autonomy but a democratic socialist society, then the NDP is in fact accurate. But if the party seeks to address the question in this manner, then it must go on to ask: what are the obstacles to democratic socialism in Québec. And it will find, as I have noted, that it is precisely Canadian federalism that is the main obstacle.

Some suggestions

What about self-determination? After all, some might say that the NDP has defended Québec's right to self-determination. If so, I have seen little sign of it. The NDP's position is hard to distinguish from the one of grudging acquiescence in the face of a clear decision by Québec, now admitted by both the Liberals and Conservatives: to wit "we wouldn't force any province to stay by force..."

Concretely then, what am I asking of the NDP? Clearly, outright NDP support for sovereignty-association is at this time outside the realm of possibility; furthermore, some could sincerely argue that even if they believed sovereignty-association to be desirable, NDPers would be unwise to take a public position to this effect as it might be seen to constitute outside interfer-

ence in an internal decision. I therefore limit myself to a number of practical suggestions

1. The Québec question can no longer be shelved. The NDP must publicize its commitment to Québec's right to self-determination, to defend that right even in the face of initially hostile audiences.

2. Self-determination means that the NDP will regard with equal approval whatever decision is taken by the people of Québec.

3. Along with this, is an acceptance of the principle of negotiating as equals with the representatives of the people of Québec, namely its provincial government, in the wake of a successful referendum.

4. Finally, the NDP could begin to do something it has so far failed to do—namely to use its own channels to publicize and defend the kinds of solid progressive legislation that have been initiated in Québec by the Parti Québécois where such programs coincide with the NDP's own political and economic concerns. I draw particular attention here to minimum wage legislation, the surtax on high incomes, anti-scab legislation, denticare, minimum industrial safety legislation, agricultural zoning, and laws and regulations controlling political party financing.

Now is the time for going beyond the rhetorical, for building a concrete basis for solidarity among progressive English Canadians and Quebecers. If the program of the NDP is someday to be realized, a sine qua non of such an achievement is the linking of progressive elements within the national communities. This is true whatever the outcome of this referendum. And, in the not unlikely event (despite what you may read in the papers) of a 'yes' next spring, the possibility of close collaboration between progressive elements in both national communities would be enhanced. This is just what happened in Sweden. In 1905, the then opposition Social Democrats supported Norwegian independence, thereby enhancing the progress of social democracy in both nations in the years that followed.

Social democrats in Québec are at a similar moment. They are waiting to see the response from their counterparts in English Canada. And so far they have been discouraged. After all, Québec is not a distant nationality, concerning which Canadian progressives can offer perfunctory support for self-determination and feel no further responsibility; the Québec question is deeply embedded in Canadian historical and contemporary reality. Pierre Vadeboncoeur, a long-time leading left nationalist figure associated both with the trade unions and the PQ was not alone, when writing in *Le Devoir* on July 28th, he addressed the English Canadians:

Canada makes you one, it divides us; it consolidates you, it fractionalizes us; it gives you the means of domination; it makes us partially complicit in that domination that is yours and not ours to exercise... Show me one individual, one party, one writer, one philosopher, one newspaper, one journalist, one businessman—just one liberal-spirit on the English side that refuses, apart from a few quibbles, to make common cause with English Canada during this constitutional crisis. (My translation).

The present NDP federal convention is probably the party's—perhaps Canada's—last chance to meet this challenge before the referendum. Will it take it?

Henry Milner is a Political Science professor in Montreal. He is currently the president of the Committee of Anglophones for Sovereignty Association. He is author of a number of works on Québec politics, including *Politics in the New Québec* [McClelland and Stewart, 1978].

Equal to Equal By Association

by Simon Rosenbloom

Is the P.Q.'s proposal of sovereignty association a workable arrangement—politically or economically?

Not if you listen to the Liberals and Tories—or NDP leaders such as Ed Broadbent and Allan Blakeney. The former Liberal Secretary of State, John Roberts, had maintained: "Generally, when a marriage breaks up, you don't maintain a joint bank account afterward."

Since it is not particularly enlightening to find out exactly how representatives of the Trudeau government handled marriage separations, we shall discuss and criticize the assumptions of the belief that sovereignty association is a "non-starter" in English Canada.

First of all, the mood of English-speaking Canada, though not that of the English-speaking minority in Quebec, has in general shown itself to be far more open to a new arrangement with Quebec than the views of our political leaders would indicate.

In a poll conducted for the *Canadian Magazine* (January 1977), the question was asked: "If separation occurs, should Canada enter into an economic union with Quebec?" Surprisingly, 43% of Canadians outside Quebec favored an economic union between an independent Quebec and the rest of Canada. Similar results were obtained through survey research conducted by the Survey Research Centre of the Institute for Behavioural Research at York University.

A study of attitudes in the four Atlantic provinces prepared for the Task Force on Canadian Unity also found that a majority of people in Atlantic Canada would favor an economic union between their region and a politically independent Quebec.

In short, the climate of public opinion in Canada at the present time is not generally hostile to the professed intention of the Parti Quebecois to negotiate economic association with the rest of Canada, if and when it receives a popular mandate to do so. This is most surprising, in light of the fact that the three major political parties in English Canada are quite united in their opposition to discussing sovereignty association.



The NDP stood up against the War Measures Act in 1970. Will we now stand up against forced federalism?

What exactly does sovereignty association mean? Two mechanisms are implied. The first is sovereignty—the exclusive right to levy all taxes for public purposes. The second is, of course, association—the preservation of the "Canadian economic space", through a customs union (free trade and joint tariffs) between English Canada and Quebec. The establishment of a joint central bank and other institutions of common advantage have also been mentioned.

Both NDP leader Broadbent and Saskatchewan Premier Blakeney argue that negotiating sovereignty associa-

tion is unacceptable because it would give Quebec the economic benefits of belonging to Canada without bearing any responsibility for the welfare of the whole country. Whether Canadians outside Quebec would be willing to continue to pay higher prices for Quebec goods from an independent Quebec is a major bone of contention in current discussions of sovereignty association. There are approximately 250,000 jobs in the clothing and textile industry in Canada, mostly in Quebec, and they are heavily protected under the present tariffs. Would and should English Canada continue to pay the same high prices to maintain jobs in an area that had ceased to be a part of Canada? (A hidden assumption of those who are so preoccupied with the cost of textiles from Quebec is that there is no contradiction for a labor party to be promoting the idea that Canadians should be participating in the superexploitation of Southeast Asian textile workers.)

What seems to be forgotten is that the benefits and costs of the present English Canada - Quebec economic arrangements run both ways. As economist Mel Watkins points out in another article in this paper, a great number of jobs in English Canada depend on free access to the Quebec market, and the tariff subsidizes these goods as well. The loss of a guaranteed Quebec market would be highly disruptive.

University of Toronto political economy professor Abraham Rotstein seems correct in suggesting that an "economic association" between Canada and an independent Quebec "should be regarded as an area where we can, perhaps, stake out and secure some results that are mutually beneficial." Yet, English Canadian political parties have been utterly unyielding in rejecting this notion. This suggests an overriding level of political prejudice—as well as short-term intimidation before the Quebec referendum.

Agreeing to negotiate sovereignty association does not, of course, imply simply accepting all Quebec's proposals. All negotiations and all further economic arrangements would be organized strictly on a quid-pro-quo basis. Both sides will wish to obtain certain economic concessions, and both will concede on other issues in order to arrive at a fair balance of "give-and-take."

How encompassing the economic association would be is surely a matter of negotiation. While the general maintenance of the present tariff and transportation arrangements seems mutually beneficial, other areas are more uncertain.

There are possibly a number of areas in which sovereignty association may prove difficult. Given the paucity of investigations and serious evaluations of it outside Quebec, it is very hard to know. But at the moment, it is the only serious proposal being put forward on the public agenda. "In the likely event that the status quo cannot be maintained, it is surely worth looking at," *Ontario Report* editor John Hutcheson has argued.

To negotiate, of course, does not imply automatic or even eventual acceptance of any particular terms. What is necessary is that such negotiations be conducted in good faith. Surely we owe Quebec and ourselves that much.

[Simon Rosenbloom is editor of the Sudbury-Nicklebelt New Democrat. During the epic Inco strike, he was co-editor of the Strike Support News.]



Force and fear?

by Mel Watkins

As we approach Referendum Day in Quebec, the question will be put on sovereignty-association with the rest of Canada. In effect, the P.Q. will be asking Quebecers whether they want independence for Quebec in the context of continuing economic association with English-Canada.

In this situation, what should English-Canadians (outside Quebec) do? By and large what we have done so far—or let our leaders do for us—is rule out in advance any economic association with Quebec. We seem at times to be saying, albeit very perversely: full independence or nothing. Given the long history of sour relations between Quebec and English-Canada, why do we rule out a 'middle' course?

In part, we may attempt to justify our intransigence by pointing to public opinion polls in Quebec and the evidence that support for sovereignty is significantly less than for sovereignty-association. So why not refuse Quebecers the more attractive option? The reason, very simply, is that to do so is, to put it bluntly, to engage in an exercise in blackmail. The present tactic intimidates the Quebec electorate prior to the referendum. It's a blatant attempt to create a mood of fear within Quebec over the economic chaos that would result if Quebec chose sovereignty.

Imagine that, as a tactic, it works. That will only mean that Quebec has, for the moment, been kept within Canada at the lowest common denominator of material interest. It will not mean an end to the continuing necessity to work out new confederal arrangements more acceptable to Quebecers (and, to be candid, to the rest of us as well, who are not without our grievances with Confederation). It's going to take a lot of goodwill on the part of everyone, including anglophone Canadians, to make that work. Blackmail and intimidation are hardly part of any such spirit.

But even that is not the end of the matter. Recourse by English-Canada to the no-economic-association position means submerging and neglecting its own genuine ongoing economic interests. If there are a lot of jobs in Quebec that depend on sales to English-Canada (which helps to explain Quebec's interest in continuing economic association) then, in the nature of the case, there are also a lot of jobs in English-Canada that depend on sales to the Quebec market. Are we really so cavalier as to place these in jeopardy for the sake of sheer emotionalism?

The reciprocal dependence of Ontario and Quebec is enormous. In each case, there are more than 100,000 jobs that directly depend on sales to the other. For Ontario, the main sectors at

issue are automobiles, chemicals, electrical products, food and metals. True, other regions in Canada depend less on the Quebec market than Ontario, but they do have some dependence on it—in the case of both the Atlantic Provinces and the West, some 10,000 jobs in each case.

Trade is a two-way street and therefore, so is economic association. If denying economic association to Quebec will hurt Quebec (as it will), then it also necessarily hurts English-Canada as well.

It is surely passing strange that, as we move increasingly to a position where Canada has what looks like sovereignty-association with the United States, English-Canada denies such an arrangement to Quebec. This is to practise the politics of vengeance and perhaps even to risk the very survival of English-Canada as a distinct political entity in the process.

Is it not time for English-Canada to define the economic principles and objectives that would best serve its interests? After all, there is much to be said on the side of Quebecers wanting to become masters in their own house. Might not English-Canada, rather than deplored this and issuing threats, decide that what's good for Quebec is good for English-Canada too? English-Canadians are right to feel frustrated about a world in which they seem always to be reacting to Quebec. But the answer is not to deny Quebec its democratic rights, but for English-Canada to set out its own political agenda—with or without Quebec.

Let English-Canada assert clearly its intention to continue to exist under any circumstances. Let it then take the difficult but critical step of recognizing that Quebec has the right to self-determination.

Do not imagine that there can be any waffling on this point. The right must be stated to avoid the contrary: that Quebec will be kept in by intimidation and in due course coercion.

And let no-one tell us that this takes for granted the complete political separation of Quebec—that to assert the right is necessarily to make a self-fulfilling prophecy. The issue of 'separatism' is on the political agenda for all Canadians because of Quebec. It is up to the rest of us to decide whether or not to respond creatively.

Let us, then, look coolly at the question of sovereignty-association—the better to inquire what links, political and economic, we would wish to sustain in a new confederal arrangement that dealt evenhandedly with the interests of both major partners.

[Mel Watkins is a well-known economist, and a former leader of the "waffle" movement in the NDP.]

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Mass action extends Nicaragua revolution

by Jean Laplante

It is now going on four months since the flight of dictator Anastasio Somoza, the final military offensive by the Sandinistas to remove the U.S. State Department's and Somoza's stooge Urcuyo, and the massive uprising of the militia fighters and popular masses that resulted in the FSLN's triumphant entry into the capital of Managua to install the junta of the Nicaraguan Government of National Reconstruction.

In the meantime a whole process has been underway to reconstruct the country. A million people need food aid—more than 300 tons a day. With the civil war, normal planting was not carried out and agriculture production is expected to be 37% lower than the previous crop year. Since September 1978 more than 35,000 people lost their lives, 80% of

them civilians who were unable to escape the bombings by Somoza's planes. Material damages to the infrastructure (schools, water, electricity, communications, housing) are estimated by the UN to total \$80 million. With the extensive damage to workplaces, destruction of machinery, stocks of raw material, finished goods, there is massive unemployment. The country is faced with a colossal foreign debt, the interest alone being higher than this year's possible revenue from exports.

The Sandinistas have launched an international campaign to win aid from non-governmental forces which are in solidarity with their struggle. Aid, which is today absolutely essential, if sent by Latin American or imperialist countries, can be an instrument for assuring that Nicaragua remains in the international capitalist market and that the revolution not infect other sectors of Latin America which may seek to emulate it. The Cuban leadership has sent considerable help but it is faced with jeopardizing its relation both with a segment of the Latin American bourgeoisie, who fear a new Cuba in Nicaragua, and with the Soviet government, which seeks to maintain the status quo especially in this region to which the U.S. is very sensitive.

In response to these challenges and under the influence of the mass movement that in the course of the popular insurrection developed organs of dual power, the Junta has instituted a series of far-reaching decrees. It has confiscated all the wealth of the Somoza family and cronies which, along with extensive business holdings, accounted for 25 to 30% of the country's arable land. A state institute is managing these expropriated properties, with the land having been placed under the control of the agrarian reform institute—INRA. The banks and more recently the insurance companies have been nationalized. A nationalized health care system, social security and a vast literacy campaign have been instituted.

The civil defence committees that

grew up in the struggle have been extended and expanded into Sandinista Defence Committees, into the largest mass organizations in the country.

In some cities CDS representatives elected delegates who in turn named municipal councils. Together with the development of the CDS which represent organs of people's power, the front launched a campaign to unionize the working class, which has always been small, by building the Sandinista Workers Federation. The agricultural laborers and poor peasants—half the population is agricultural—are being organized into the Agricultural Workers Association. The women's association, AMPRONAC, is being set up as a national organization to mobilize women in tasks of rebuilding the country and to fight for their own specific demands.

Out of the FSLN guerrilla fighters and the people's militias the Sandinista People's Army is being constructed. The danger of counterrevolutionary intervention is very real. The CIA-trained National Guard has 5000 trained combat forces in Honduras on the Nicaraguan border that could be easily strengthened.

The first victory parade of the Sandinista People's Army on September 1st in Managua saw on the reviewing stand, not members of the uneasy government coalition, but 20 guerrilla commanders of the FSLN who make up the officer corps of the army. The FSLN leadership chose that occasion to bestow the title of commandante of the revolution to the nine members of the joint leadership.

The extremely weak structures of the capitalist state and the far-reaching activities of the masses have placed the capitalist forces on the defensive. On October 22, Junta member Sergio Ramirez responded to their agitation for the immediate convocation of the Council of State with its original composition. He announced that the Council of State "must reflect the political reality of the country". He declared: "We cannot decree the law prior to the

facts that the revolution creates and above all the revolutionary processes involve change."

Commander Daniel Ortega took on the bourgeois parties directly, attacking the now splintering remnants of the landholding oligarchy's Conservative party. He charged them with being "terrorized by the fact that the same people they humiliated and used as tools for their own interests have a voice and a say in the government."

The October 22 announcement stated that the Council of State would be held May 4, 1980 and that its composition would be shifted to better represent the 'motor forces' of the revolution—the workers and peasants. The statements by FSLN leaders about the need to "restructure" the council are being widely interpreted by the workers and peasants to mean that decisive representation will be in their hands through the burgeoning CDS—unforeseen in the Junta's program or the Fundamental Statute—the Sandinista Workers Federation (CST), by far the largest workers' organization, with its more than 180,000 members, and the Agricultural Workers Association (ATC) which is organizing the farm labourers who make up the largest sector of the country's working class.

Together with the continuing inroads against the economic power of the exploiters the convocation of a nationwide body decisively based on the mass organizations would mark an important advance toward the establishment of a workers state ruled through democratic councils of the Nicaraguan workers and peasants.

Nicaraguan political groups put to the test

As the revolution unfolds

by Jean Laplante

All great and profoundly revolutionary struggles, such as that which swept up Nicaragua and that continues to advance, ever confronting new challenges, put all political and social formations to the test.

The Sandinista National Liberation Front itself in the course of the struggle underwent profound changes. It was the urban neighbourhood movement in the Movimiento Pueblo Unido (MOU) and the alliance it formed with the FSLN that converted it from a guerrilla to a mass organization. The FSLN incorporated a type of revolutionary nationalism of petit bourgeois origin that broadened its appeal once the masses began to enter into struggle. And it is continuing to evolve in response to the dynamic of the permanent revolution.

The progressive measures taken by the new government have met with critical responses from two widely different sources—opposition from the anti-Somoza capitalists and their political representatives who seek to hold back the radical transformations that are underway, and on the other hand, from ultraleft sectarian groups that are impatient with the pace that the FSLN is setting.

The Socialist International, to which the NDP is affiliated, in a press release of October 9, sharply dissociated itself from the so-called Social Democratic Party of Nicaragua. Affirming that it has "always resolutely and unconditionally" supported the FSLN, it declares that the SDP is "misnamed" and "acts on behalf of obscure foreign and domestic reactionary interests...."

This party, also incorporating the word Sandinista in its name, contains elements who played important roles in the old Democratic Conservative Party—one of the main political formations of the anti-Somoza capitalists. In a speech at a September 29 rally, SDP political secretary Luis Rivas Leyva, while professing a desire for a socialism in the future, declared that at this stage the revolution must be limited to "social and economic consolidation and reinforcement of capitalism under bourgeois democracy." He complained pointedly of "attacks on the private property of individuals who never were Somozistas"—a direct reference to the sorest point in the deteriorating relations between the FSLN and the capitalists.

Within the framework that the native capitalist class and imperialism, although greatly weakened by the revolutionary victory, have begun to organize themselves and are putting up growing resistance, various groups in the revolutionary camp of workers and peasants are

advancing views on how to best carry the struggle forward and defeat the counterrevolution.

Among these are several groups whose policies can best be described as ultra left and sectarian—the most significant being the Movimiento de Accion Popular (MAP) which leads a trade union current, the Frente Obrero (FO). The MAP originated in a 1971-72 split from the FSLN. It held pro-Peking positions until 1977 but today considers both the Soviet Union and China to be state-capitalist societies. The other component includes three groups that call themselves Trotskyist—the Liga Marxista Revolucionaria (LMR), the Nicaraguan supporters of the Organización Socialistas de los Trabajadores (OST) of Costa Rica, and the Nicaraguan supporters of the Columbia-based Bolshevik Faction (BF) led by Naheul Moreno.

All the ultraleft sectarians act on the assumption that the FSLN cannot lead the revolution forward to the establishment of a workers state and tend to view the process of the revolution as resulting from administrative decrees by a determined leadership, rather than the conscious mobilization of the masses in anticapitalist struggle by a revolutionary leadership. The LMR, OST and BF go further, presenting a view that the Sandinistas are consciously following a course of class collaboration and seeking to reconsolidate capitalist rule.

In early October some 70 FO members were detained on suspicion of illegal possession of arms. Several LMR members were arrested along with a supporter of the BF. The repressive moves against the ultraleftists were combined with efforts to explain what was wrong with their policies. But even the Sandinistas' correct arguments were nullified by the charges that these groups were "neo-Somozaists" or "the same thing as the counterrevolutionaries", and the arrests. The MAP/FO, with a certain base among the masses, began to respond to the campaign. It asserted its right to exist and present its ideas and it mobilized peaceful protests. It also called for a "dialogue" with the Sandinistas with the aim of "publicly clarifying...a whole series of falsehoods and misinterpretations." By the last week of October the public campaign against these formations had greatly diminished, although dozens of their members are still detained.

On several occasions Comandante Tomas Borge stated his belief that there were "honest people" among the ultraleft and that the FSLN was open to having political discussions with them, but none with

"the sellout bourgeoisie, the Somozists, and other traitors to this process." Its Secretariat of Mass Organizations condemned a leaflet circulated among CDS to denounce and keep members of these groups under surveillance. A major article in the name of the FSLN in their weekly *Poder Sandinista* opened the way for dialogue, following a series of statements by FSLN leaders indicating a willingness to deal fraternally with other organizations on the Nicaraguan left.

An important part of the process of interaction between the masses and their vanguard is politically confronting the ultraleft sectarians and explaining what is wrong with their views. Repression cuts across political clarifications and the widest revolutionary unity. The capacity of a leadership to respond positively to all views, including the initiatives from the masses that also go beyond its immediate aims, will be a key element in the victory of the revolution.



Nicaraguan women who are playing a big role in the revolution, among the 30,000 who gathered in Managua on September 14 in solidarity with Vietnam

Dowson suit against RCMP awaits federal court ruling

12-01-23

by Ross Dowson

Federal Court Justice Campbell Grant will be ruling as to whether Ross Dowson's slander suit against the RCMP can proceed to trial, some two years after it was initiated, or whether to uphold the RCMP's attempt to have it dismissed as vexatious and frivolous. The entire day's hearing at the federal court in Toronto on November 6 was taken up by legal arguments presented by the RCMP's lawyer Pierre Genest and by Harry Kopyto on behalf of Dowson.

The case arose when Ontario At-

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torney-General McMurtry responded to the Ontario NDP leader's inquiry as to whether the RCMP had ever investigated the NDP. McMurtry issued a statement to the house, which was released to the press, containing a summary of information provided by RCMP officials to the effect that the NDP had been inves-

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RCMP moves to block socialist rights slander suit

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tigated, but not as such, rather its left-wing Waffle, which had been allegedly infiltrated by ex-Communists and the League for Socialist Action. The unnamed persons falling into the catch-all category of ex-Communists and the named LSA were labelled "subversive", as tending "to promote changes brought on by violent and undemocratic means."

Dowson, a leader of the now defunct LSA for most of its existence, a leading proponent of Trotskyism and now an activist in the NDP protested at the time of initiating his suit that the designation "subversive" makes one subject to prosecution under the Criminal Code, and renders one's views, no matter their appearance, as suspect to having a sinister aim. He claimed that such a slander is nothing less than an attempt to outlaw socialist currents of thought, and provide an excuse and cover up for RCMP activities fundamentally directed against the trade union movement, and its political arm, the NDP. It is not just myself, he said, but all those who are members and sympathizers of the LSA and ex-Communists, but the Waffle and the NDP itself which has been slandered by this RCMP interference in its internal affairs. What is at stake is the right to hold dissenting views and in particular the legitimacy and legality of socialist views.

This last summer, on the basis of information submitted by Dowson, a top officer admitted before the Royal Commission on the Confidentiality of Health Information that the RCMP had actually forged letters and planted them in the youth movement of the LSA in order to disrupt its operation. These same letters had been

earlier presented as evidence in pre-trial hearings of the Dowson suit. However the top RCMP officer, on lawyer Pierre Genest's advice, refused to answer any questions related to them.

In his legal argument before Judge Grant, the RCMP lawyer contended that the statement complained of concerned a matter of state made by officers of state acting in the course of their duties, and as such were protected by absolute privilege. Kopyto argued that absolute privilege applies only when officers of state are acting in accordance with their duties; that instead of truthfully answering the questions asked of it by the NDP leader, which would have revealed that the RCMP was involved in dirty tricks and numerous illegal acts, the statement was made in order to avoid revealing the RCMP's activities within the

NDP.

While it is not known when Judge Grant will make his ruling it is probable that it will be challenged either way, and go before the Supreme Court of Canada. The RCMP, with the resources of the state at its disposal, has challenged an Ontario Court ruling favoring the Krever Commission that it reveal the names of RCMP informants who violated the confidentiality of Ontario Health Records. The Socialist Rights Defense Fund, which is supporting the Dowson suit, should it be confronted by an unfavorable ruling, will have to mobilize every bit of support possible, far beyond the support that it has already won, in order to carry its case to the Supreme Court. All possible financial aid should be sent to SRDF, 50 Thorncliffe Ave., Toronto M4K 1V5.

NDP convention supports law-suit against RCMP

The delegates assembled in plenary session at the NDP's 10th federal convention held in Toronto November 22-25 adopted a far ranging seven point resolution on Justice.

It calls: for the immediate termination of all operations of the security service of the RCMP which harass legal dissident organizations, the labor movement, the NDP and other political parties, for the immediate prosecution of the RCMPers who are alleged to have violated criminal law, and, in point (5), for the party to encourage support of Ross Dowson's \$500,000 slander suit against the RCMP.

Point (5) reads as follows: "BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the party encourage support for a variety of efforts directed towards establish-

ing the legitimacy of dissident, socialist and Marxist thought, including the efforts of Professor Andre Gunder Frank to obtain full travelling rights within Canada and the legal suit of Ross Dowson for slander against RCMP allegations that he and other Waffle supporters and members were subversive."

The resolution, protesting that the Official Secrets Act and the Federal Court Act give the government the right to withhold almost any document under the excuse of national security, also urges that the Official Secrets Act be amended to affirm the right to public trial, calls for a real Information Act and establishment of locally elected Police Review Commissions with power to investigate complaints against the RCMP.

Behind US hate Iran hysteria

by the Editors

Liberal leader Trudeau's observation that government heads of the rest of the capitalist world are far from taking a united stand behind U.S. President Carter on Iran did not cause him to explain why this is so, or even suggest that it might have any relevance at all to Canada's commitments. It did not stop him for one moment from shamelessly underwriting the U.S. State Department's bellicose threats and massive build up of power that could set afire and turn the Middle East into a raging inferno. When he was in power, he went all the way with LBJ into the Vietnam holocaust. Now as opposition leader he warns not the swashbuckling U.S. but tiny Iran that it should see any future action it may take such as placing a U.S. hostage on trial (even a CIA agent) "in terms of future peace in the world."

The Clark government's ambassador to the UN has joined in on the condemnation of the takeover of the U.S. embassy in Teheran to also brush aside "consideration to the concerns of the government of Iran." As if it were a matter of course, "Canada shares completely the American sense of outrage at the abandonment by Iran of its solemn obligations under international law... Once the threat to diplomatic personnel and premises has been removed," said this petty sycophant, like an official mouthpiece of the U.S., then and only then will "consideration to the concerns of the government of Iran" be given.

Just what are Iran's concerns that other matters can be used to push them so casually aside? First and foremost the Iranians have insisted that their demand that the Shah be returned to their country be acceded to, so he can be placed on trial for the crimes—if the scope of which are in question—the entire world knows he committed. It was this law of extradition, so sanctified in relations between nations, that Ottawa bowed before when it turned Native leader Leonard Peltier over to the tender mercies of U.S. prison authorities.

The Iranians are demanding that the billions of dollars that the Shah received in bribes and looted from the Iranian public treasury, be returned. And they are demanding that the U.S. State Department and its corporate masters get out, and keep out, of the internal affairs of their country.

This is exactly what the Carter and previous U.S. administrations have never done and are not doing now. Even though the Shah fell before the wrath of his own people, he has not given up his claims to the throne upon which he was placed by British and American imperialism. And he has not sought official asylum anywhere. That is not in the game plan of the Rockefellers and Kissingers. The U.S. is

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Iran threatens to ignite Middle East to cripple US as the world power

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trying to keep the Iranian royal family with all its trappings of torturers and assassins, intact, hoping that it can once again be imposed on the Iranian people. Even should it be forced to conclude this impossible, a public trial of the Shah, with the slightest element of legitimacy, either in Iran or elsewhere, is absolutely inconceivable. Not the Shah, but the U.S. government and its entire system would be on trial and the revelations would be so explosive as to make Watergate look like a damp squib.

Of course none of these are the reasons why government leaders of the rest of the capitalist world are worried about the U.S.'s present stance. They know that Carter has already lost this phase in the Middle East, that a new turn has been taken in the world relationship of forces with the arrival of the oppressed masses of the Middle East whose unity is expressed in their common Islamic religion. They know that the Iranian revolution is setting fires in Saudi Arabia and any misstep by the U.S. will result in their being cut off from, or in the actual destruction of the oil resources that are the lifeblood of their economies.

These harsh facts of life are going to force the West, either its present capitalist rulers, or the workers' governments that will replace them, to come to terms with the new realities in the Middle East. The hostage incident in Teheran has shown that while the people are prepared to die to keep imperialism's hands off, they have the warmest fraternal regards for the working people of the West particularly, despite all provocations, for the American workers. The labor and socialist movements must rise to the occasion to aid and grasp their hands in solidarity. Humankind's future requires it.

EDITOR: Wayne Roberts
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12-01-05

Left launched at NDP convention

by the Editors

"I am very glad that this debate took place. I have friends on both sides of the debate... It brought joy to my heart." Ed Broadbent, unanimously re-elected as party leader at the NDP's federal convention in Toronto, heartened the final session of the convention with his thanks to delegates for developing a program which clearly distinguishes the NDP from the indistinguishable Liberals and Tories. He adopted a conciliatory posture to those who had debated on behalf of an even clearer alternative to Liberals and Tories—the alternative of public ownership.

These concluding remarks to the convention represented quite a remarkable shift from the speech he made to a federal council meeting five days earlier. On the eve of the convention, he intervened at federal council to argue in the strongest terms for a convention that would minimize debate and highlight the party's public image of internal stability and moderation.

In the four days that separated these two speeches, 1200 delegates, attending the largest NDP convention ever, discussed and debated the basic problems confronting the party. In the course of those four days, a left caucus emerged with a cross-Canada base in the constituencies, union affiliates and parliamentary caucuses. This left-wing earned the respect of the party by posing challenging new directions and by consolidating the party platform in several key areas.

Of course, that's not the way the media saw it. "NDP convention crushes push by left-wing caucus," headlined the Hamilton *Spectator*. "The Left-Caucus, it seems, was left standing," claimed a *Globe* editorial which depicted "Son-of-Waffle... swamped by the bow-wave of a confident party leader, steaming toward the next federal election." According to the *Star*'s Richard Gwynn, "the NDP is getting closer to the centre. All the radical resolutions... were turned down, softened, or shunted aside."

The facts are quite otherwise. In the first place, the initiatives of left delegates were able to overcome leadership inertia and unify the convention behind several important resolutions. This was the case with resolutions in support of postal workers, of Native and Inuit self-determination (a vain effort was made to refer this to an upcoming constitutional committee which would presumably try to settle Inuit and Native rights along the lines of the NDP's Quebec statements) and Petrocan (until the plenary sessions, elements identified with the leadership had tried to evade commitments to expand Petrocan by nationalizing existing firms). In the same vein, the convention united behind a resolution on justice, with a scathing denunciation of the RCMP unlike anything the NDP leadership has yet been identified with, and a broad range of resolutions in support of women's rights. If the left did not have to take the lead on these questions, it is mainly

Left caucus emerges from NDP convention

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because its work has been accomplished over a period of years.

As was to be expected, the left was defeated on the three issues with which it was exclusively identified. The federal council resolution on industrial strategy passed without significant amendment, and the left resolution on public ownership was passed in two panels with a significant, weakening, amendment. The convention, or 60% of it, was unprepared to adopt public ownership as the central strategy and principle of the party.

It should be noted, however, that the federal council resolution it-

self, presented as a "tough and radical" one, represented an adaptation to the left, an attempt to straddle the developing polarization within the party. The federal leadership's statement on industrial strategy adopted last spring made virtually no reference to public ownership. Broadbent argued at the time that the current Liberal mix of private and public enterprise would remain stable "for the foreseeable future," with the exception of Petrocan. He went further and placed himself against public ownership "philosophically... because it would lead to over concentration of state power and a tendency to abuse that power and destroy the notion of freedom, which is at the heart of socialism." By contrast, the federal council resolution on industrial strategy presented at the convention calls for public ownership "where necessary" and in essential resource and manufacturing industries, and points to the vital and positive tradition of public ownership. This represents a modest advance, no doubt due to left-wing protest over the original statements and the pressure of events around Tory privatization efforts, which have vindicated the centrality of public ownership.

The nuclear debate involved the left indirectly, as its forces moved behind the autonomous environment caucus to support a moratorium on uranium mining as well as reactors. The convention upheld a go-ahead on nuclear mining, in keeping with the activities of the Saskatchewan government. Although this represented a defeat for the left caucus, it should be noted that the nuclear debate is a dispute which remains at this time one of scientific judgement rather than clear left-right divisions.

The left suffered its most unqualified defeat on Quebec. A last-minute resolution from federal council called for renewed federalism and appealed to Quebecers to join New Democrats in that enterprise. Efforts to have the NDP make a straightforward statement endorsing Quebec's national rights to self-determination failed by a margin of four to one (see coverage elsewhere in this issue.)

Although differences between left and right were expressed on major policy issues, no formal contests developed for positions of party leadership. Nevertheless Steve Langdon, the leadership's main spokesman on industrial strategy, finished rockbottom of the new federal council delegates, while Cec Taylor, former Waffler and now president of the 12000 Stelco local, came close to defeating Steel brass representative Stew Cook. These developments were purely spontaneous.

The socialist delegates correctly concentrated their attention on policy issues and methods of educating the convention during "floor fights." This in itself was no small achievement for a group which came into the convention without Canada-wide connections or communication channels, let alone common working experiences. With very few exceptions, all left caucus meetings were open and tolerant, and provided time for the expression of different concerns and points of view.

Elements in the caucus also moved toward establishing mechanisms for left delegates to keep in contact, so that we would not always have to decide on complicated questions under the gun of an impending floorfight. Jim Turk, a former provincial party president and the most authoritative representative of the left delegates, articulated the need for such a long-range discussion, and a late Saturday evening meeting endorsed efforts to develop an information and discussion bulletin to be circulated within the party.

As the convention was getting underway, left MP John Rodriguez told the *Globe* that "we lost the cream, the guts, the lifeblood of the party in the departure of the Waffle ... We've been dormant in the last few years... but it's coming back."

Indeed the left is coming back, as it was bound to do. The NDP, as the party incorporating the politically most advanced workers in the country, inevitably becomes the forum for thrashing out political and programmatic proposals for the labor movement, regardless of the efforts of the NDP leadership to dampen these initiatives, and regardless of the absence of those ultralefts who consider the NDP too impure an environment for them.

"The time for waffling is over," declared the editorial in the Nickelbelt **New Democrat** produced for the convention. "The NDP can continue to fall backwards in an effort to appear practical, safe and trustworthy (to whom?) or recommit itself to being a democratic socialist party dedicated to supporting the needs of working people. The economic crisis, the political crisis and the social crisis can only be met with a socialist alternative. For the NDP the time is now."

The left, the only force capable of winning the party to such a perspective, has re-emerged in the party. In the course of the convention it jelled from a group brought together by word of mouth to support public ownership resolution, to a united group speaking on several issues and openly declaring itself a caucus. It is on the way to firmly establishing itself as a broad and ongoing, though necessarily loose, formation. History will show that this was the most significant achievement of the convention.

Historic challenge to RCMP's Big Lie

Lawyer explains the issues

As background information on the Dowson slander suit reported elsewhere in this issue, we reprint the following article by lawyer Harry Kopyto, originally published in the September 1979 issue of the Law Union News. The Law Union News, a publication of "socialist and progressive lawyers, law students and legal workers," is available through Box 67, Station H, Toronto.

What is perhaps one of the most explicitly political lawsuits in Canadian history has already exposed previously unknown criminal acts of the RCMP, resulted in admonition to the RCMP by a Royal Commission, and is quickly moving to a trial where the main issue will be whether it is illegal to advocate Marxist ideas.

The case of Ross Dowson v. Her Majesty the Queen (Federal Court of Canada) arose when the RCMP was

asked by Ontario Attorney-General Roy McMurtry to respond to allegations about RCMP investigations of the Ontario NDP.

In an attempt to legitimize the force's involvement in and infiltration of the labor movement and the NDP, the RCMP responded by issuing a statement, later made public by McMurtry, saying that subversive elements had infiltrated the NDP during the "Waffle period," drawing RCMP interest. Ross Dowson's League for Socialist Action was the only group mentioned by name. Dowson immediately launched a slander action.

The RCMP responded by moving to have the validity of the defence of "absolute privilege" to the slander allegation determined prior to discovery in order to block any questioning on RCMP harassment of the

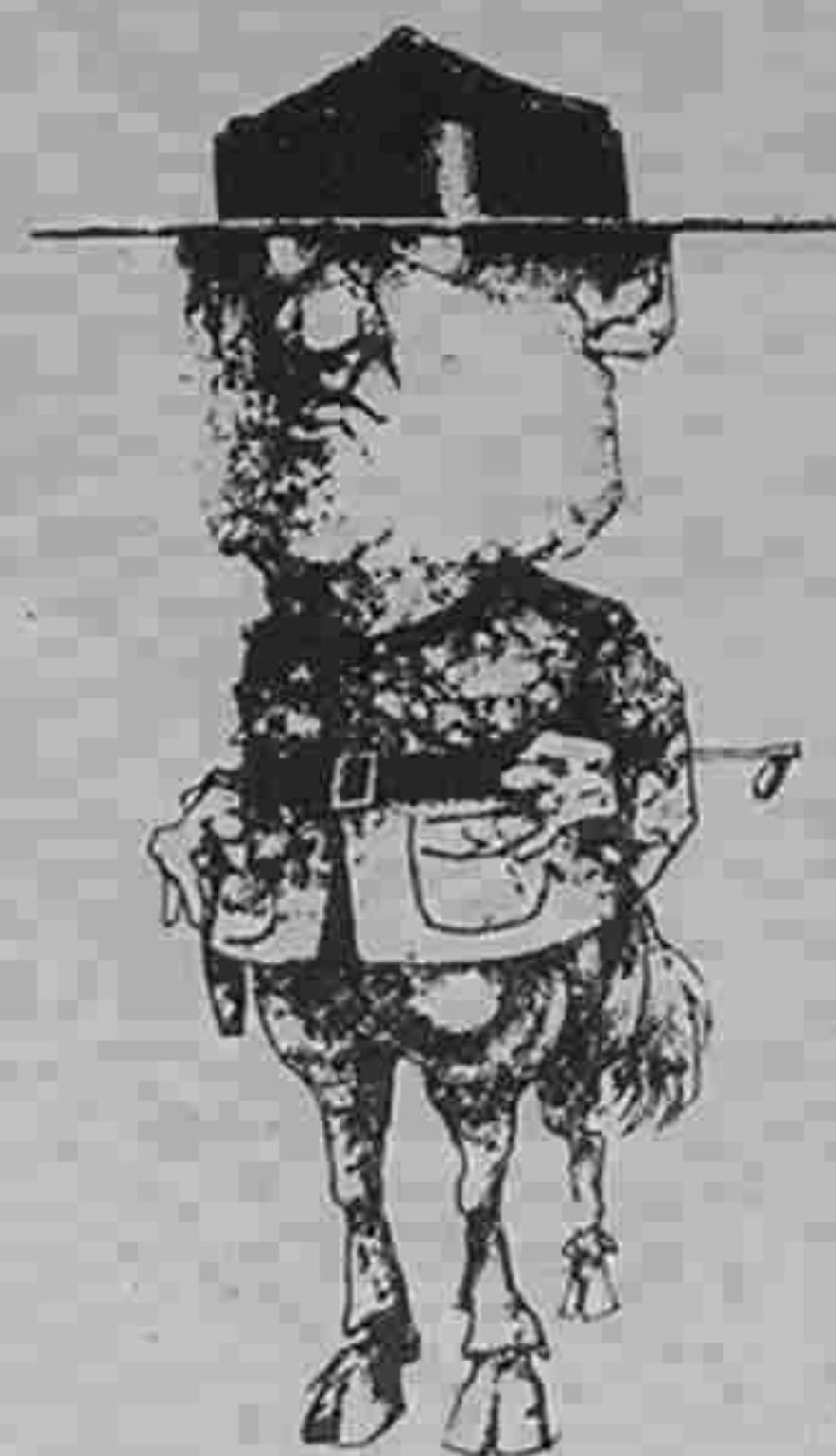
NDP, the Waffle and LSA. In response to this defence of absolute privilege, Dowson pleaded that the RCMP was motivated by malice against him and his co-thinkers and has committed numerous illegal acts directed to limiting the political efficacy of his organization. Furthermore, he argued, the slanderous assertion was not a confidential communication protected by absolute privilege but an attempt to hide RCMP illegalities directed against the NDP and the labor movement.

A major breakthrough in the case came after Dowson made public letters which he believed were circulated by the RCMP within his organization in the early 1970s. He handed them over to Harvey Strosberg, counsel for the Royal Commission Concerning the Confidentiality of Health Records in Ontario (the

Krever Commission.) These letters alleged that a leader of the LSA had had "psychiatric consultations" and suffered from emotional outbursts. Despite an earlier denial that it had used medical information for the purpose of disrupting and destabilizing political organizations, the RCMP was forced to admit authorship of the letters, and furthermore conceded that it had violated s.324 and 330 of the Criminal Code by circulating the letters. The sections pertain to forgery and communicating false messages.

It is interesting to note Krever's own comments in June 1979 when the RCMP was making its submissions on policy to the Commission. The Commissioner interrupted the RCMP by raising the incident brought to its attention by Dowson and referred to RCMP harassment of the organization as "thought-control". He went on to suggest that "it may be that the public will draw the line and say, no, you can't have medical information because we are afraid you might use it for that purpose".

Krever went on to suggest that the RCMP was perhaps picking on the wrong targets. "Historically, when one looks back and takes the historical view, you don't have to be a political scientist or much of a historian to realize that at any given time in history movements that became acceptable, including Christianity, at a certain time was considered to be a subversive movement and hostile to the interests of the status quo of the state...I used Christianity as perhaps the most glaring example of what was considered to be so subversive that drastic measures had to be taken to deal with it, but in our own time and in your force's own time, the example that keeps recurring is that of the Winnipeg general strike and the prosecution of various people, not East European Bolshevik immigrants, but people of Anglo-Saxon stock, members of the clergy, J.S.



THE ROYAL CANADIAN MOUNTED POLICE ALWAYS GET

- their men?
- their horse?
- the trots?

Woodsworth charged with sedition...."

Another significant off-shoot of the revelations is the effort to have the Ontario Attorney-General's office prosecute the RCMP for the crimes they have admitted committing. Despite the incontrovertibility of the evidence and despite a long delay the Attorney-General continues to sit on the matter. Efforts by the Law Union and Paul Copeland in particular, to have the RCMP prosecuted for its crimes have so far met only with assurances that the matter will be dealt with in due course.

The Dowson case promises to hold many more surprises as it continues to move through the Federal Court of Canada towards a trial that will attempt to defend the legality of Marxist and socialist thought. The suit has already been given that significance by a large number of prominent endorsers including international figures such as Dr. Benjamin Spock, Prof. Noam Chomsky, Linus Pauling, Jessica Mitford, etc. The suit has won the support of NDP members of parliament and national trade union figures.

12-0187

Law Unions hit RCMP and Quebec union-busting judge

by P. Kent

One of the highlights of the Law Union of Ontario conference held late October at the University of Toronto was the panel which featured University of Toronto Professor John Lee, co-author of the book *The RCMP vs the People* and a prominent activist in the gay rights movement, Nick Schultz of the Public Interest Advocacy Center who acts for the Renfrew County Citizens for Nuclear Responsibilities and Harry Kopyto, lawyer in the half million dollar slander suit of Ross Dowson against the RCMP.

In the subsequent sessions the assembled socialist and progressive lawyers, law students and legal workers passed two motions particu-

larly relevant to the case of Dowson vs the RCMP. One motion declared the Ontario Law Union's support of the suit initiated by Dowson "to establish the legitimacy and legality of socialist thought in face of charges of 'subversion' by the RCMP". The other motion arises out of the efforts of associates of the Law Union, the NDP Ontario parliamentary caucus through MPP David Warner, and others, to have the RCMP prosecuted following its admission before the Ontario Royal Commission on the Confidentiality of Health Records that it had violated the Criminal Code, the decision of the Ontario Attorney-General to conduct an investigation into RCMP's conduct, and where this investigation appeared to stand at the time of

the Law Union conference.

The resolution was substantially as follows: Whereas the Ontario Provincial Police is investigating the illegal harassment of socialists in Toronto in the early 1970's, and Whereas Staff Sargent Palissier has made it known that the RCMP has been uncooperative in giving the names of operatives responsible for acts of forgery, uttering and circulating false information, Therefore this Law Union of Ontario conference calls on federal Solicitor-General Lawrence to perform his legal duty to cooperate fully with the OPP in its investigation of RCMP illegalities and further urges that all RCMP harassment of dissident, including Marxist groups, cease forthwith, and that all lists of alleged subversive organizations be destroyed and prohibited in the future.

A press conference called in Montreal November 27 by the Gervais Lessard Defence Committee was attended by representatives of the Ligue des droits et libertés, the Ontario Law Union and a professor of the Law Department of the University of Quebec. It had the strong endorsement of the Law Unions of BC and Nova Scotia. It was called to protest and mobilize a pan-Canadian campaign against a court order issued last summer by Mr. Justice Dionne that would forbid, under penalty of law, any expression of opinion let alone support of Steelworker leader Gervais Lessard. Lessard was sentenced to three years in jail on a charge of arson arising out of a strike at Lynn McLeod, Thetford Mines, under such circumstances that the Court of Appeal had conceded the right to a new trial this coming February.

The developing support that the

Lessard Defence Committee has won from the legal profession against Judge Dionne's ruling—the Law Union of NS condemned the order as "an unprecedented judgement which violates fundamental civil liberties, including freedom of speech"—has encourage the committee to come forward.

Lessard's wife said "we were all afraid to say anything. Nobody wanted to take part in our tag day to raise money for my husband's defence. Nobody wanted to say anything publicly." According to the vice-president of the Lynn McLeod Steel local, members have voted to each give \$5 a month to finance the campaign. A recent annual meeting of Steelworkers District 5 as well as the Maritime Fishermen's Union also gave their support.

Solidarity resolutions and funds should be sent to Gervais Lessard Defence Committee, P.O. Box 403, Thetford Mines, Que.

What is the truth behind RCMP-Labor Committee

by Ross Dowson

Top officials of the Canadian trade union movement have been and may still be members of a secret committee that met, and may still meet regularly, with senior RCMP officers to discuss problems of the labor movement.

This revelation of shameful collaboration by union officers with the union-busting para-military conspiratorial police force of the federal state was affirmed by John Fryer in personal correspondence with Grace Hartman. Fryer is a vice-president of the Canadian Labor Congress and the general secretary of the BC Government Employees Union. Hartman is also a CLC vice-president and is the president of the country's largest union, the Canadian Union of Public Employees.

The correspondence surfaced in John Lang's column in the November-December issue of *This Magazine*, a journal of left political and cultural opinion which lists among its editors: Wallace Clement, Margaret Atwood, Mel Watkins, etc.

In his letter to Hartman, Fryer protests that persons like himself "who would neither condone nor participate in that kind of activity are being smeared....while none of the real members of the Labour-RCMP Committees have ever been accused of being so." He then brings to Hartman's attention an enclosed copy of a letter he had sent on January 17, 1979 to CUPE's Director of Organization, Lofty MacMillan, "advising him who the real participants were."

A matter of such grave implications cannot be left on the level of gossip and hearsay, or in top officials' files. It must be the subject of immediate investigation by a committee of irreproachable unionists with the named persons being given an opportunity to explain or clear themselves, and a recommended course of action to be implemented by the union bodies to which they are responsible.

At the same time an investigation must be immediately held into a question asked by the Liberal M.P. for Longueuil of Solicitor-General

Lawrence on November 28 as to whether the RCMP was using the pretext of auditing a federal grant to a Montreal union as a device to check on travel by its members to "communist countries."

Two years ago the federal Department of Labor launched a program of making lush grants for educational purposes to the CLC, the CNTU, CSD, and various independent unions to the tune of 80 cents a member a year. In the fiscal year of 1978-79 alone the CLC received the sum of \$2,300,000. What strings are attached to these grants by the anti-labor Liberal and Tory party governments which only a few years ago combined to impose a wage freeze from which most unions have yet to recover, and are implementing ruthless cutbacks in the civil service and against social welfare projects?

In the light of the known condition that a trade union must submit a financial report on the previous year, a program forecast, and a budget for the next, and that it would appear this is being used as an opening wedge by the RCMP to penetrate into the internal affairs of the unions, can the present policy of the trade union brass of seeking out and accepting such government handouts be tolerated in any way whatsoever?

12-01-78

OFL brass covers up McDermott mudslinging

by Paul Kane

For the top brass of the Ontario Federation of Labor, Issue Number One before the delegates to the 23rd annual convention of the country's largest provincial federation was the widespread sentiment against Dennis McDermott. The developing rank and file unease over the CLC president's failure to even verbally support the beleaguered postal workers, while civil service workers are under assault all down the line, was compounded by his arrogant and ignorant attack on the delegates to the recent CUPE convention, the CLC's largest affiliate, and on its leadership as poor disciplinarians of their membership. He smeared them as pushovers and dupes of ultra-left "Marxist-Leninists" against whom he hysterically cried out "If these people are on the march we are going to have to put them to death." His sinister urging that there should be a repeat of the McCarthyite anti-communist witchhunt of the dark days of the fifties must have roused some embarrassing and humiliating memories even for many of these now comfortably ensconced office holders.

After putting the squeeze on the CUPE leadership to silence their forces, wringing humiliating assurances from Hartman and Cummings that they are on guard against forces seeking to destroy the democratic nature of the Canadian labor move-

ment, then, for the record, passing a strong resolution in support of the still beleaguered Postal Workers, and heaping scorn on the handwringing and pleas by CP-influenced delegates that this is neither the time nor the place to discuss matters of union leadership, the OFL brass succeeded in reducing the vocal opposition to a single person. CUPW delegate Paul Heffernan attacked McDermott's statements as red baiting and slander of other union leaders and expressed profound scepticism that the postal workers would have had the support of this convention if it had been in session when they were on the firing line. He expressed some doubt, but nonetheless a strong hope that the present declared support of the postal workers will really materialize as they are being pushed into a new round of battles against the government.

The OFL brass whitewashed McDermott and applied a little protective cover on themselves. But it may well be all in vain. Because of his brash, divisive, factional and red-baiting hysteria, McDermott, after only one term in office, may have rendered himself useless to the bureaucracy, and reluctantly they may decide they have to push him onto a back burner. For a new generation is moving in to make the unions serve the purpose of their membership.

12-01-9

Commemoration of Trotsky Centennial

Among the many commemorations of the 100th anniversary of the birth of Leon Trotsky held across the globe, of particular note was the three-day conference held in Mexico City over November 5-7. It featured a series of talks at the Autonomous National University of Mexico, one of the largest universities in the world and a central cultural influence in the country. A concluding rally was held in a theatre in the city. The event received wide media coverage—a BBC crew interviewed leading participants for a documentary on Trotsky to be shown later this year.

Among the participants paying tribute to Trotsky and his heroic struggle in defence of Marxism and principled revolutionary socialist politics against its Stalinist perversions were persons of international stature who were influenced by him or collaborated with him over the span of his life's work. They included Tamara Deutscher, collaborator with her late husband Isaac on a three volume biography of Trotsky, Michel Pablo, a former secretary of the Fourth International, Jan VanHejenoort, a former secretary of Trotsky, the noted Latin American journalist Adolfo Gilly, Pierre Broué, research director of the Leon Trotsky Institute in France, and Marxist theoretician George Novack of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party. A leading "Eurocommunist" intellectual of the French Communist

Party, Jean Ellenstein, scheduled to participate, was unable to attend.

One of the many who addressed the rally was Raymond Molinier who recalled, from his own experience in France in the Thirties, Trotsky's attitude toward revolutionary youth. The speech of Cristina Rivas of the Mexican section of the Fourth International which concentrated on Trotsky's efforts to build mass revolutionary parties, was punctuated by youth in the audience displaying revolutionary banners and breaking into revolutionary chants.

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Oh Canada

By Paul Kane

If there are any still holding onto beliefs that the indigenous Canadian capitalist class, even if they don't actually own the key sectors of the economy in the face of U.S. corporate takeovers, are still in the driver's seat—thanks to the Bank Act and their control of the chartered banks—prepare to shed these beliefs now.

After three years of wheeling and dealing before and behind Senate and Commons committees, the long delayed revisions to the Bank Act have been introduced to the house by Finance Minister Crosbie, and are to be sped through before the Christmas adjournment. U.S. financial interests had only minor criticisms as the revisions were being leaked from committees during the Liberal party regime—after all, there was hardly a phrase or clause in the old act that they hadn't been able to work their way around. Now they have no criticisms.

Whereas the old act limited foreign subsidiaries to five branches—enough to cover every major centre—the new bill removes all limitations. The subsidiary would have to have ministerial approval of branch openings. Whereas the old act did not permit foreign bank subsidiaries to hold interests in any non-financial operation in which Canadian-owned banks could not hold interests, the new bill will permit foreign bank subsidiaries to have associated non-financial companies in Canada.

The some 120 foreign banking operations in Toronto, skirting regulations compelling them to appear to be something other than banks, will no longer have to make believe. Ottawa is now going to licence them, for a three-year period. Even the lending ceiling of \$10 billion is going to be eased.

While Ottawa has been blasting the indexing of civil servants wages to the cost of living, it has agreed to index the foreign banks' lending ceilings to 8% of the total assets of Canada's chartered banks. Of course, U.S. branch plant operations, on top of the profits they could plough back, have always had access to the resources of their home offices. One fuzzy area has been clarified—on top

of federal and commercial lending, foreign banks can also do personal lending.

Heretofore there have been widely expressed fears that Canadian business secrets and information on the personal affairs of Canadians, accumulating in the processing or storing banks of the computer networks of U.S. branch plant operations and their U.S. home offices, will become open to almost anyone who has the equipment to tap them. An earlier proposed revision to the Act that would have prohibited banks from processing or storing data in foreign computer facilities has been made less restrictive in the recommendations that have been tabled by the finance minister.

It would be false to see these concessions to U.S. capital as signifying a sacrifice or betrayal by Ottawa of Canada's financial tycoons, and their interests. In fact they are designed to keep Canadian banking interests in the game. With U.S. banks now permitted to provide full banking services in Canada, the way is being cleared for other major Canadian banks to move into the U.S. behind the Royal Bank which has just been allowed to increase its assets from \$200 million to about \$2.6 billion in its New York Royal Bank and Trust.

As Keith Spicer, the guru of the ex-Liberal government's bilingual policies, recently wrote in his Southam Press column summarizing vari-

ous U.S.-Canadian concerns, including all the talk in the U.S. about encompassing Canada in a North American common market: "continentalism" to most Canadians means imperialism." But "all these concerns," he said, "perch on top of the nagging issue of Canadian economic dependency. A \$70 billion-yearly trade relationship, with huge U.S. investments, makes Canada the world's best-kept satellite."

In what would appear to be a 180-degree turnabout in policy and in an unprecedented aggressive mood, the Canadian government sent a stiff protest note on November 3rd to the U.S. State Department. Of all things, it was in defence of "Canadian sovereignty."

The occasion is a bill, proposed by U.S. presidential aspirant Senator Edward Kennedy, that would curb the 16 largest oil companies in the U.S. from acquiring other large firms with assets of more than \$100 million. It would also restrict the amount those companies could invest in foreign countries—such as Canada.

The proposed bill, Ottawa notes, "deliberately and explicitly claims jurisdiction over foreign affiliates including those incorporated in Canada and therefore offends against Canadian sovereignty."

The recent speech by Rowland Frazee, president and chief executive of the giant Royal Bank, to the Vancouver Board of Trade, was too much even for the editors of the *Edmonton Journal* to swallow.

Frazee himself made the pitch, usually left to his Liberal-Tory stooges, that it's the workers' "high living" and "laziness" that's behind the country's economic problems. The economy doesn't need the whip for the workers so much as it needs a little sugar for the bosses, in the form of a tax and regulatory climate favorable to investment and productivity, etc., etc., to get us off the treadmill which is taking us "swiftly backward, deeper and deeper into the red."

"We are 'on a tread-mill', indeed, but 'high living' by Canadians is not the cause", ridicule the *Journal's* editors. "The cause is foreign ownership."

Despite last year's \$3.4 billion trade surplus—"Canadians work hard and do well," they noted—we ended up with a total financial deficit of \$5.3 billion—a reversal of \$8.7 billion. They concede some \$2 billion "was due to foreign travel by hard-working Canadians," but the rest is "not because Canadians are extravagant but because so much of Canadian industry is owned by foreigners"—with the resultant flow of profits, dividends and service charges to the foreign owners of Canadian plant and natural resources.

The *Journal* scores Frazee for perpetuating the "insulting myth" that Canadians are in debt because they are lazy. "In fact Canadians are hard-working tenants in their own land."

A study commissioned by the Ontario government notes that over the past five years more than 24,000 jobs in the electrical and electronics industry have been lost—foreign imports of such products have displaced about 50,000 workers since 1966.

Imports grew from \$583 million in 1966 to \$2.5 billion in 1977, with exports for the year less than a third of the imports. "The Canadian market is the most open in the world.... (while) many countries with whom Canada trades discriminate against Canadian-made products," the study says.

Roundup of nuclear debate in NDP

by Paul Kane

The many resolutions that came before the federal convention of the NDP reflect the widespread concern across the country about nuclear energy development and express at the same time the diverse, confusing and contradictory viewpoints held by even working people who are united in this labor party formation. No previous federal convention had dealt with the question. In the last election the party leadership adopted the position of an Ontario provincial convention for a moratorium on nuclear energy projects.

The recent convention of the BC section of the NDP, long the site of sharp left-vs-right cleavages, saw near top-to-bottom unanimity behind a resolution to the effect that the NDP oppose the mining of uranium in BC and oppose "the use of nuclear energy for any purpose whatsoever." The resolution linked opposition to uranium mining to the threat of a nuclear war — to the nuclear-armed Trident submarines that the Pentagon is basing in nearby Washington, and — to Nixon's explosion of an atomic bomb on Amchitka some years back. Another approved resolution protested the decision of the NDP government in Saskatchewan,

following the Bayda inquiry, to proceed with the mining of uranium in that province.

The resolutions before the even more recent Saskatchewan convention ranged from one that called for the strengthening of "existing safety and security standards as outlined in the Bayda Commission Report regarding the mining of uranium.", to the one that became the focus of the debate—Resolution 203, calling for a moratorium on any new developments beyond the present projects at Uranium City, Rabbit Lake, Cliff Lake and Key Lake.

The moratorium on mining resolution was quite frankly argued as a compromise resolution by MLA Peter Prebble who stated he preferred a complete cessation. According to Skip Hambling in his extensive report in the November 7 Commonwealth it was "an effort to try to soften their hard line image as blind nay-sayers and to buy time for consideration and observation...."

NDP MP Simon deJong based his support for a moratorium on concern over the risks involved and the effect on our society and environment likely to result from the high technology and industry like nuclear power depends on. He argued that "high

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MP Simon deJong and Sask. MLA Peter Prebble at the Sask. NDP convention unsuccessfully urging the delegates to vote for a moratorium on uranium mining. The federal convention also voted no, though the debate revealed widespread unease on the nuclear energy question.

technology means exploitation, not human liberation." Prebble called for a major equivalent thrust in an alternative source of energy—conservation — an alternative he pointed out is supported, no less, by the Harvard Business School.

A key argument of those supporting continued development was jobs and economic benefits. Calling a halt to further development would be like "sending us back to live in log shacks and to fishing and hunting for a living," warned former MLA McNeil. Added to this was the conviction expressed by the president of the Saskatchewan Federation of Labor, Nadine Hunt, and Terry Stevens of the Steelworkers, that Saskatchewan's health and safety standards for uranium mining are now the world's best. No one, miners least of all, is blind to these concerns, said Stevens. "They're our jobs and our lives," echoed Hunt.

Put to a standing vote the resolution to limit mining development was defeated 160 for and 370 against. Hambling notes that this is the third time a move to limit or turn back Saskatchewan's commitment to uranium was defeated, with each year those opposed to it numbering less than the year before.

There were resolutions before the NDP federal convention in Toronto along the lines of BC's rejection of "the use of nuclear energy for any purpose whatsoever" and, Saskatchewan's moratorium on uranium mining. The supporters of this view were an important element in the Left Caucus. On the other hand Steelworkers Local 2859 resolution hailed nuclear energy as the most successful breakthrough for Canada's future energy needs," requiring a "forging ahead with nuclear energy program," while presssing the federal government "to use

all our expertise and technology toward the safety aspects of nuclear waste products." The Willowdale NDP urged that the party "NOT oppose nuclear generation as a source of power until the necessary amount

CIA brainwashers will face trial

The suit of Velma Orlikow, wife of the NDP M.P. for Winnipeg North, against a Montreal hospital's CIA-funded brainwashing experiments has crossed another legal hurdle. Superior Court Justice Nelancon has denied a hospital motion for dismissal on the grounds that it was filed after statutes of limitations by ruling that she could not have sued earlier because she only recently learned of the CIA's involvement with the Montreal Allan Memorial Institute. Even then her lawyers say that the \$90,980 suit may not be heard for two years.

The Allan Memorial Institute conducted experiments on Orlikow between 1956-64 from which she still suffers after-affects, including inability to concentrate on reading and writing and fear of crowds. These experiments—the full scope is yet to be revealed—were financed from a \$25 million fund allocated to the CIA to perfect techniques of brainwashing.

of research into all aspects of the use of nuclear energy is completed."

There were resolutions such as those from Nickel Belt and Rosedale calling upon the party to identify with the forces that are protesting the massive and costly program of nuclear power developments while the problem of safe disposal of waste byproducts remains unsolved and there is ever accumulating evidence that many projects are being operated without due and proper concern for the safety of those employed in them and the safety of the surrounding community. They called for a moratorium on all projects not now on stream and in the case of Nickel Belt and Rosedale, for workers control in the decision of conditions of operation of the projects.

However none of these came before the plenary sessions. It was the leadership's Energy Resolution No. 8, and Section 6, while calling for a moratorium on new power facilities made no mention of uranium mining, which became a major focus of debate. The Left Caucus had earlier agreed to leave nuclear policy to the Environmental Caucus, and when the latter modified its position to one of moratorium, the Left agreed to support amendments to Section 6 that included a call for a moratorium on uranium mining.

An important element in the debate was the intervention of former Ontario leader MacDonald fresh from chairing a government Select Committee study of safety in the publicly owned-and-operated Ontario nuclear projects. The main thrust of the committee report is that the CANDU reactors are "acceptably safe." MacDonald pointed out, since the bringing on stream of the Darlington generators has been postponed until 1988-1990 and plans are underway to develop a mix of non-conventional renewable energy sources, that the Ontario government itself has in effect declared a moratorium.

The vote to refer Resolution 8 back to take into account amendments and contributions from the floor was defeated by a close 537 to 402. But it would be an error to think that the opposition votes were recorded solely behind opposition to uranium mining. There was considerable scepticism about many aspects of the leadership's resolution. It is clear that the nuclear question is a matter of continued concern to NDPers, just as it is to the working class at large, and the debate will continue.

Capitalists lose faith in future of their economy

by Ken Napier

Those who expect that capitalism can be reformed and made to work are currently losing an important ally—Canadian business executives and establishment economists.

After a survey of 200 firms, the Conference Board of Canada reports this fall that most business executives feel high inflation coupled with the slowdown in the U.S. economy will lead to a dramatic decline in both domestic and foreign sales. In sharp contrast to last year's optimism, most firms surveyed this year expect their employment levels to decrease or stay the same.

Canada's top economists appear even more pessimistic than their friends in the business world. To mark the 50th anniversary of the 1929 depression, six economists were approached by the *Toronto Star*, which canvassed their views about the future. A consensus emerged that the U.S. and Canada were heading toward a long recession, high inflation for at least another five years, and, to quote McGill University economist Jack Weldon, "the dwindling away of the government's ability to deliver any policy."

While Canada's industrialists and economists hedge their bets, Prime Minister Joe Clark, who frequently urges all Canadians to show a spirit of free enterprise, sacrifice and willingness to work hard, has expressed a lack of confidence in the saleability of capitalist rhetoric. In a recent speech to a businessmen's luncheon, he had to admit that he was "dis-

turbed by the frequency with which people who march to the banner of free enterprise come running to the government for help to take the risk out of enterprise".

Clark told the Conference Board Annual Convention that "I think it wrong that so much of the entrepreneurial energy in this country—which should be directed to starting new enterprises—has chosen the safe ground of consolidating established enterprises". Even John Bulloch, the more-competitive-than-thou spokesman for a right-wing alliance of businessmen, recently attempted to use the courts to impose a monopoly on his trade, by excluding a former employee from competing with him.

While these statements and actions undercut the pretentious hypocrisy of big business politicians, their lack of confidence in capitalism is indeed well based. The world wide recession is growing daily, and in Canada we have major declines even in the bastions of capitalism. (The economic crisis of Chrysler is a good example.)

But the slowdown in production under capitalism has no relation to society's needs. Housing is sorely needed in Canada, and so are manufactured goods. However, profit determines priorities in our capitalist economy and human need always takes a second place. Until these priorities are reversed, the anarchic decline of the economy is bound to continue.

12-01-13